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ABSTRACT

Designed as a major supplementary source for social science teachers in elementary and secondary schools, this booklet presents cultural aspects of the Sioux Nation and the history of their dealings with white settlers and the U.S. government. To demonstrate the cultural diversity within one tribal entity, sketches are included of the culture typical of each of the three major divisions within the Sioux Nation (Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota), each one having been subject to different historical influences and having therefore developed a different version of the Sioux culture. Areas discussed in the sketches are the original territory of each division, economy, shelters, kinship systems, government, dress, design motifs, weapons, music, field games, stories, ceremonies, burial practices, and current location. The importance of the pipe in the ritual life of the Sioux is also discussed. Questions, activities, discussion ideas, photographs, maps, and visual aid sources are included. Of the three divisions of the Sioux Nation, the Lakota are best-known to the non-Native American, and for this reason the history of the Lakota division is presented for the treaty period of 1851-1871, the reservation period of 1871-1889, the allotment period of 1889 to 1934, the reorganization period of 1934 to 1950, and the termination period of 1950 to 1960. (AN)

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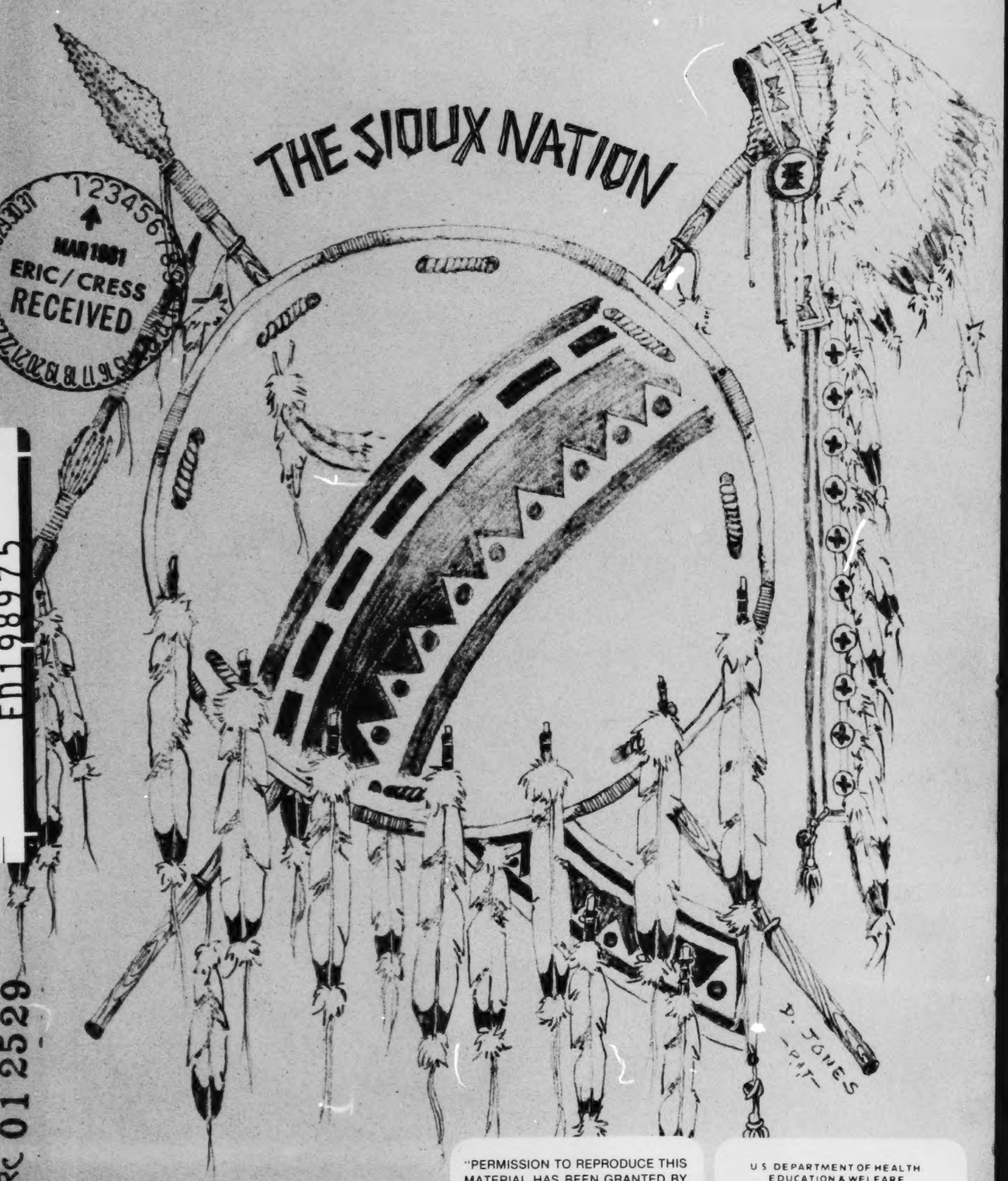
THE SIOUX NATION



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TO: ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL STAFFS

This booklet about the Sioux is designed as a major supplementary source to be shared with all your students. Since the social science textbooks do not usually cover any aspects of Native American tribal historics, this booklet will give you the information on the Sioux in their dealings with the settlers and the U.S. Government.

Since Oakland provides us with such a rich composition of cultures, it is appropriate for you to take this opportunity to learn about one of the most important Native American tribes in the United States.

It is my hope that you will supplement your teaching activities by using this booklet developed by Ms. JoAllyn Archambault through the Office of Community Relations. A better understanding of the Sioux history can serve to bring into broader perspective your study and presentation of the history of the United States.

Marcus A. Foster

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What do we want with this
vast, worthless area,
this region of savages and
wild beasts, of deserts,
of shifting sands, and
whirlwinds of dust,
of cactus and prarie dogs?

- Daniel Webster

We only want the right to live
as other men live.

- Chief Joseph

They told us they only
wanted a little land,
as much as a wagon would
take between the wheels.
You can see now what
it was they wanted.

- Black Elk speaks

Once we were happy in
our own country and
we were seldom hungry,
for then the two-leggeds
and the four-leggeds lived
together like friends
and there was plenty
for us and for them.

- Black Elk speaks

See not only with your two eyes,
but also with the one eye
which is in your heart.

- John Espes Brown

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PART I

THE SIOUX NATION

INTRODUCTION

When you mention the word "Indian" to most Americans, the mental picture that comes most frequently to mind is that of a mounted warrior in flowing war bonnet, beads and leather fringe. If you ask for the tribe of this picturesque apparation, most people would answer "Sioux." The fact of the matter is that there are over 200 distinct tribes in what is now the United States, and few of them even faintly resemble this stereotyped image. For that matter, not all of the Sioux wore war bonnets. The point is that there was and continues to be tremendous cultural and linguistic diversity between Native Americans in general and even within the same tribe. The stereotyped image and history associated with the Sioux really belongs to the Teton division of the tribe, although certain elements are held in common by all those who call themselves Dakota.

One typical error made even by students of anthropology is to confuse the term "Siouan" with the term "Sioux." Siouan is the linguistic term applied to a language family of related tongues. In the same manner that English is a member of the Indo-European language family, so "Sioux" is a member of the Siouan grouping. The latter included other tribes such as the Winnebago, Omaha, Crow and Mandan, all of whom possessed very different cultures from that of the Sioux. Linguistic affiliation did not mean political unity any more than it meant cultural similarity. The Crows, Siouan speakers, were the hereditary enemies of all the Sioux, while the Mandan were on and off friends with some of the northern Sioux groups.

The term Sioux was originally derived from the French version of the Chippewa word Nátawèsiw3̀k, meaning "snakes" or "adders," which was the derogatory term applied to the tribe by their enemies when they lived in the Great Lakes region. It is the official term in dealings between the United States Government and the Sioux tribe, and most individuals when speaking English will use the word. But when speaking their own language, the Sioux call themselves Dakota, Nakota, or Lakota, depending on the Council Fire to which they belong.

THE COUNCIL FIRES OF THE SIOUX

When all of the Sioux lived in the eastern woodlands, they were divided into seven bands or Council Fires. Each of the Council Fires had a name for itself which indicated where they lived and they recognized a kinship between all of the bands. As the Sioux moved westward from their woodland homes, both cultural and linguistic differences grew between the various bands and the original seven became regrouped into three major divisions. The first four Council Fires call themselves Dakota or Isányatì, "Dwellers at the Lake." The next Council Fire call themselves Nakota or Wicíyela, "Those Who Speak Like Men." The last Council Fire calls itself Lakota. The three major divisions are marked by dialectical differences which are apparent in the Dakota, Nakota, Lakota sequence, the difference being the beginning sound, D, N, or L. All three dialects are mutually intelligible. The word itself means friend or ally, recognizing the fact that the three divisions did not make war upon one another, but looked to each other for aid and assistance.

THE SEVEN BANDS OF THE SIOUX

Below is a chart of the seven bands containing both the Native American and English terms. The underlined words are in the original dialect; the words in quotes are the English translations and the final word, when it appears, is the word commonly used today by members of that Council Fire when referring to their own band or to their division.

Océti-Sakòwin, "Seven Council Fires"	Three Major Divisions
Mdéwakàntonwàn, "Spirit Lake People"	Isányatì, "Dwellers at the Lake," Dakota - sometimes called Santee
Wáhpekute, "Shooters Among the Leaves"	
Sísitònwan, "People of the Boggy Ground," Sisseton	
Wáhpetònwan, "Dwellers Among the Leaves," Wahpeton	
Ihánktonwàn, "Dwellers at the End," Yankton	Wicíyela, "Those Who Speak Like Men," Nakota
Títonwàn, "Dwellers on the Plains"	Lakota, sometimes Teton

In the remainder of this article, the terms Dakota, Nakota and Lakota will be used when referring to the appropriate major division. The word Sioux will be used when referring to the entire tribe.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Sioux were first encountered by White explorers about 1640 in the Woodland region just west of the Great Lakes. Their territory consisted of what is now the southern two-thirds of the state of Minnesota with adjacent parts of Iowa, Wisconsin and North and South Dakota. The economy of the tribe at that time was based upon hunting, fishing and the gathering of wild plant foods. This diet was supplemented by some horticulture on a limited basis. At this time their hereditary enemies were the Chippewa who lived to the east.

The Chippewa came into contact with white traders earlier than the Sioux and consequently were equipped with better firearms. The French were interested in promoting the fur trade and the Chippewa lived in areas which abounded with valuable fur-bearing animals, beaver, etc. Guns meant more animals killed and more pelts for the European fur market. The French were very eager to become wealthy men. Likewise, the Native Americans were eager to obtain guns since it made hunting so much easier as well as increasing their power to protect their families against enemies. Once they were well armed, the Chippewa stepped up their fighting with the Sioux who were then forced to move westward onto the Plains. By 1750 the Lakota and Nakota had begun to cross the Missouri River and filter into the Black Hills region. They met other tribes already living in the area, but they succeeded in pushing these tribes even further west and south and eventually came to dominate most of the northern Plains area. The Dakota stayed on the fringes of the Woodland area and, until after the War of 1812, were allies of the British. Beginning in 1815, the United States entered into a series of treaties with the Dakota and attempted to persuade them to move further westward and be confined on reservations.

By 1800, horses were becoming more plentiful on the northern Plains, and the Lakota and Nakota were evolving the way of life that came to be popularized as the image of the Native American. The horse facilitated the hunting of buffalo and the Lakota and Nakota abandoned their horticulture and came to depend primarily on the buffalo for their food. Religious, social and economic patterns changed to center around the hunting of buffalo. Food was more plentiful and the Lakota and Nakota enjoyed unprecedented wealth. At the same time, the Oglala and Brule became the largest subdivisions of the Lakota, a population explosion which made them as large as the entire Sioux tribe in its Minnesota origins.

THE SIOUX AND THE EARLY SETTLERS

Until the 1840's the only white men the Oglala and Brule had known were the traders and trappers who lived very much like themselves. Then wagon trains appeared carrying white settlers across the Plains, despoiling the hunting grounds and carrying new diseases to which the Sioux had little resistance. Hostilities between Sioux and white increased as the settlers looked with greedy eyes on the vast Plains controlled by the Sioux. In white eyes the land was not being "used" since all the Native Americans did was to hunt upon it. Farming was the only legitimate use for land and pressure was increased upon Congress and the U.S. Government to confine the "savages" on reservations and open the land to settlement by honest, God-fearing white folks. Government treaty-making delegations became a familiar sight to the Sioux and with each treaty the tribe lost more and more of its land. Fort Laramie was established to protect the settlers and to minimize tensions between the Lakota and the whites.

THE MINNESOTA UPRISING

The diversion of troops to fight the Civil War proved to be a short respite for the Sioux. In 1862 the maltreatment and broken agreements visited upon the Dakota who had remained, for the most part, east of the Missouri, resulted in what history calls the Minnesota Uprising. It caused a panic among the whites and brought more troops into Lakota and Nakota territory. The Dakota, sometimes called the Santee, were defeated by the white troops, and many of them fled into Canada or joined their relatives on the Plains.

THE GOLD RUSH OF 1868

In 1868 gold was discovered in the Black Hills, and a gold rush was underway. The Black Hills are a sacred place to the Sioux, and at that time were part of the vast Sioux reservation which included most of South Dakota and parts of North Dakota, Wyoming, Montana and Nebraska. The U.S. Army seized control of the Black Hills in direct violation of the existing treaty and the last Sioux War commenced. The Lakota and Nakota fought bravely and well, but the odds were overwhelming. Pitted against the entire military force of the United States, and the fact that the buffalo, their major food source, were being hunted to the point of extinction by white buffalo hunters, was a nation of people who could probably never muster more than 5000 fighting men into the field at any one time.

SIOUX RESISTANCE

Some Army men had a low opinion of Sioux fighting ability. But they, like General George Armstrong Custer, learned how well they could fight. Custer, through his own arrogance and stupidity, led his men to certain death. He was no match for such fighting men as Crazy Horse, Gall and Sitting Bull. It was a great victory, but by 1877 most of the Sioux were back on their great reservation, now considerably reduced in size.

Crazy Horse, considered by all Lakota to be their greatest leader, was one of the last to allow himself to be confined on the reservation. He finally surrendered because his band was starving. The buffalo had been almost totally wiped out by the buffalo hunters who killed thousands in a day, taking the tongues and hides and leaving the meat to rot in the sun. Sometimes the stench was so great that it could be smelled miles away. The hunters were supported by the U.S. Army who correctly surmised that without the buffalo, the Native American would starve and so could more easily be brought to his knees. Besides, buffalo got in the way of farmers.

So Crazy Horse brought in his small band in order to save the lives of the women and children. Secret Army orders were issued to imprison him and transfer him to the Army prison in Florida. He was tricked into going to Fort Robinson, Nebraska, where he was treacherously killed. His last words were,"Tell the people they can no longer depend on me."

From 1877 to 1889 the Sioux fought the whites using the tactic of diplomacy and bureaucratic delay. There was very little actual armed conflict. Sioux leaders tried to protect their people within the very system that whites had hoped would transform the "savage" into a good, Christian white man--the reservation. Some leaders, such as Red Cloud and Spotted Tail of the Lakota, are credited with becoming master statesmen in their efforts to protect the welfare of the tribe.

In 1889 another treaty was forced upon them which took half of what lands still remained to them. Simultaneously, appropriations for the Native American reservations were cut by Congress, monies which had been promised to them in return for their having given up their lands. Now that they were no longer considered a military threat, Congress felt secure enough to reduce the funds intended to feed and care for the Sioux. Disease and hunger swept the reservations.

WOUNDED KNEE MASSACRE

At this point, news of an Indian Messiah arrived. Wovoka, a Paiute from Nevada, had received a vision in which he was told that if the Native American people would perform a certain dance, now called the Ghost Dance, the white men would go away, the buffalo would return, and deceased relatives come back to earth. The Ghost Dance was received enthusiastically and many camps of people met to dance away the white men. The whites feared a new outbreak of wars and called troops into the reservations where there had been none for a number of years.

Sitting Bull of the Lakota, then living on the Standing Rock Reservation, became a leader of the Ghost Dance movement. The agent in charge grew very fearful and finally gave orders that he was to be arrested and brought in to jail. A group of Native American police were sent to arrest him. Sitting Bull resisted and was killed in the struggle. The news of his murder spread like wildfire across the plains and other camps began to flee that area in fear of their lives. A group of Ghost Dancers under Big Foot left their Badlands refuge and were on their way into Pine Ridge Agency to surrender, the performance of the Dance having been banned by the white authorities. They camped at Wounded Knee Creek, surrounded by the 7th Cavalry and Hotchkiss guns, an early version of the machine gun, except that this model used very large shells. A shot was fired, its origin still problematic, and the Army opened up on the Lakota camp with the Hotchkiss guns. There were no men in that camp, a fact known to the troopers. All of the warriors had assembled in a group a little distance from the lodges. The soldiers fired on the men with carbines. Fifty-two died on the spot. The rest broke and ran, trying to protect the women and children and gain cover in the ravines surrounding the campsite. The soldiers followed, killing anything that moved. Of the 183 killed more than half were women and children, many of the bodies were found along the ravines where they had been hunted down by the soldiers. Some women were found over three miles from the actual location of the camp, shot in the back. The wounded were allowed to lie in the snow and freezing temperatures for three days before medical aid was sent to them. Some white historians have tried to call this incident the Battle of Wounded Knee, attempting to pass the incident off as just another unfortunate incident of war. Native Americans know its real name, the Wounded Knee Massacre, and it takes its place along with other like incidents such as Sand Creek and My Lai in the history of the United States Army.

Wounded Knee was a tremendous blow to the entire Sioux nation, not only for the people lost, but because of the utter helplessness they felt. Resistance continued, but it was always covert, underground. White people never knew quite what it was except that there was an impenetrable wall between themselves and the Native Americans. There were exceptions of course, but in general the Sioux have attempted to maintain themselves and their culture separate from the white through mechanisms of avoidance and psychological distance. That they have been successful can be seen in the resurgence of expressions of their culture. Over forty dancers will participate this summer in the Sun Dance at Pine Ridge, a ceremony that was forbidden for over thirty years, and thought by many to be dead. It is not that the Sioux are "becoming Indian again" or "rediscovering their heritage." The heritage has always been there, underground, quiet, covert, but there nevertheless. The Dakota, Nakota and Lakota have never ceased being what they were, but they judged correctly that it was not safe to talk about it or display it freely to non-Native Americans. Indeed, it was common practice to cut off the food rations of "non-progressives," Native Americans who insisted on following their traditional religion, or who objected to having their children taken away from them and placed in "Indian schools" hundreds of miles from home and kept there in virtual imprisonment for years at a time. So it was safer not to talk very loudly about those things that mattered most but keep them quietly and securely within.

THE SIOUX TODAY

Things have changed greatly in the last several decades and ceremonies and activities that were formerly kept private, within the security of the home, are now being brought out so that everyone can see. There are now Native American school boards and Native American controlled schools on the reservation, so that children no longer have to be shipped off to boarding school far from home. On two of the Sioux reservations there are now junior colleges, totally under tribal control and direction. Everywhere there are young, capable Native American people training themselves to provide much needed services to their tribe. The days are brighter ahead for the people called Dakota.

Members of the Sioux nation are scattered across the nation, but there are concentrations of them on fifteen reservations and Indian communities, a list of which appears below. In addition there are small groups of Sioux on Canadian reserves, where many had fled in the 1800's, seeking peace and refuge from the U.S. Army. There are also Sioux communities in many urban centers where people have gone to seek employment or schooling. Some of these urban centers are adjacent to reservations while others are relocation cities under the Bureau of Indian Affairs Employment Assistance Program. These cities include Rapid City, Sioux Falls, Denver, Omaha, Chicago, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Jose, Sioux City. Below is a list of reservations in the United States where reside members of the Sioux Nation. After the name of the reservation is the name of the Council Fire of which they are members. There may be individuals of other tribes as well on these reservations, but they are not indicated. The location of the reservations can be pinpointed on the accompanying map. (See map #1)

Pine Ridge, South Dakota. Títonwàn, mostly Oglala but some Brule.
Rosebud, South Dakota. Títonwàn, mostly Brule but some Oglala.
Cheyenne River, South Dakota. Títonwàn.
Standing Rock, North and South Dakota. Títonwàn and Ihánktonwàna.
Sisseton, South Dakota. Sísitònwan and Wáhpetònwan.
Yankton, South Dakota. Ihánktonwàna.
Devils Lake, North Dakota. Ihánktonwàna, Sísitònwàn, Wáhpetònwan.
Santee, Nebraska. Mdéwakàntonwàn, Wáhpekute.
Crow Creek, South Dakota. Ihánktonwàna.
Lower Brule, South Dakota. Títonwàn.
Flandreau, South Dakota. Mdéwakàntonwàn, Wáhpetonwan.

Fort Peck, Montana. Títonwàn, Ihánktonwàna, Wáhpekute.
Upper Sioux, Minnesota. Mdéwakàntonwàn, Sísitònwan.
Lower Sioux, Minnesota. Mdéwakàntonwàn.
Prairie Island, Minnesota. Mdéwakàntonwàn.

THE CULTURE OF THE SIOUX NATION

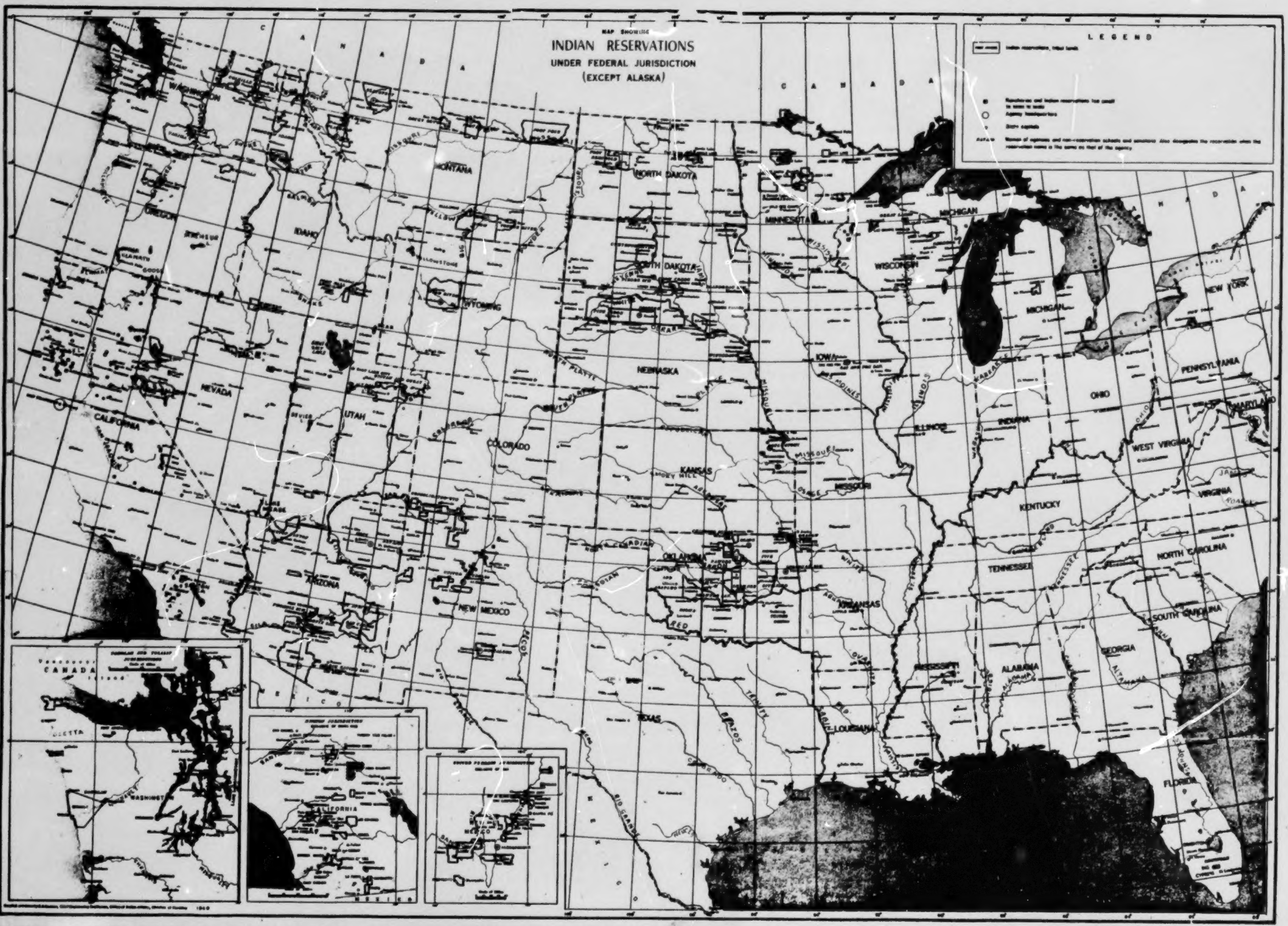
The remainder of this article will present a brief sketch of the culture typical to the three major divisions within the Sioux nation, those divisions known as Dakota, Nakota and Lakota. Each division was subject to different historical influences and developed different versions on a theme, as it were, of Sioux culture. The primary purpose of this section is to demonstrate the diversity of culture even within one tribal entity. Notwithstanding the diversity, it should never be forgotten that all of these people still knew themselves to be related and to be members of one nation.

THE DAKOTA (SANTEE OR EASTERN SIOUX)

Their territory consisted of roughly the southern two-thirds of Minnesota with adjacent portions of Wisconsin, Iowa and North and South Dakota. This is a land of lakes and forests, interspersed with areas of parkland and prairie. They shared many culture traits with their Woodland neighbors, the Chippewa, Menoninee, Potawatomi, Sauk, Winnebago and Meskwaki.

THE DAKOTA ECONOMY

The economy was based upon hunting, fishing, plant gathering and horticulture. The activities were divided by sex, men being hunters and fishers and women plant gatherers and growers. The Dakota hunted buffalo, but it was not as important to them as was the moose and deer. The buffalo


MAP SHOWING
INDIAN RESERVATIONS
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LEGEND
CANADA
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
MARYLAND
OHIO
INDIANA
ILLINOIS
IOWA
NEBRASKA
WYOMING
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
UTAH
COLORADO
KANSAS
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
TENNESSEE
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ALABAMA
MISSISSIPPI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
NEW MEXICO
ARIZONA
FLORIDA
MEXICO
1960

Note: With the exception of the Cherokee (North Carolina), Choctaw (Mississippi), and Seminole (Florida), present-day Indians living in the States east of the Mississippi are not under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A few live on reservations which are State-supervised. The majority live independently among the general population.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

became the staff of life to the Lakota and Nakota, but the buffalo ranges lay on the edge of Dakota territory and there were more choices of game animals open to them. The numerous lakes and streams provided a variety of fish. Fishing techniques consisted of the use of spears and nets. Pitch torches were used at night to attract moose or deer, their eyes glittering in the reflected light gave the hunters a good target. The men were also very adept at imitating the calls of the various animals so as to attract them to an area. Women tended large gardens where they grew corn, beans, pumpkin, squash and tobacco. They also gathered edible wild plants, the most important of which were wild rice, prairie turnip and maple sugar.

DAKOTA SHELTERS

In summer the Dakota lived in a Típi-tànka, a big tipi, a large gable-roofed house covered with bark. In winter they moved to smaller shelters, a hemispherical wigwam or a regular tipi. The Típi-tànka had a sleeping platform built around the interior walls of the house about two feet off the ground. Braided cornhusk floor mats and cattail mats covered the floors, the platforms and the walls. At one end of the house on the outside was another platform where people slept on hot summer nights. It was also used as a drying platform for corn and other foods.

THE DAKOTA KINSHIP SYSTEM

The Dakota reckoned kinship patrilineally, that is through their father's line. Although they recognized the relatives on their mother's side, they were more closely tied to their paternal relatives. They had a system of clans that were determined patrilineally. A man or woman belonged to the clan of his father and they found spouses among members of another clan. When all of the Dakota were camped together for the annual communal buffalo hunt or other events, each clan had a specific place in which to camp for the duration of the time.

The Dakota camped together in large groups in the summer time, but with the approach of winter, they broke up into smaller groups of one to three families and sought favorable hunting grounds for the long, cold season. Then when the snow melted, they assembled once again for the great encampments where they planted large gardens, held tribal ceremonies and organized hunting and war expeditions.

DAKOTA GOVERNMENT

The Dakota governed themselves by band council which was composed of councillors, twenty from each clan. These *wắkiconže*, together with the band chief, held councils at which the major decisions were talked over and decided upon for the entire band. Both the position of *wắkiconže* and band chief were passed down in family lines. The band chieftainship usually went from a father to his eldest son. The chief chose a group of *akícita*, "soldiers," who served as the band policemen. Chosen on the basis of personal merit, they were to keep order in the band and see that decisions made by the council or the chief were followed. This was not an autocratic system of government since all group decisions were made in accordance with the will of the band members. The only time a leader possessed almost dictatorial powers was at the occasion of the band hunt.

At this time, four "hunt chiefs" were selected by the council. They were in complete charge of the hunt, even outranking the band chief.

Assisted by the akícita they made sure that no one person went ahead of the main group of hunters, killing a few animals but thereby spoiling the hunt for the rest of the band. Anyone who was guilty of frightening the game in this manner was whipped by the akícita and had his weapons broken. No one person was to endanger the well being of the entire band. After the hunt was over, the "hunt chiefs" relinquished their authority.

DAKOTA DRESS

In dress the Dakota more closely resembled the central Algonquian tribes and the Winnebago rather than their relatives on the Plains. Men generally banged their hair in front and cut it short in back, and braided the remaining hair into four braids, two of which fell in front of the ears and two in back. Some even roached their hair after the fashion of the Iroquois. Men wore a variety of headdresses, the porcupine and deer hair roach headdress, and the finger-woven sash turban. Some of the time, especially in winter, an ornate hood was worn which served to keep one's ears warm. The Plains warbonnet was worn occasionally by the Sísitònwan who were one of the most westward of the Dakota bands and therefore most subject to influences from their Plains relatives.

Originally Dakota shirts were made of buckskin, rather close-fitting, and unfringed. Later cloth shirts of the same cut came into style. They were often decorated with beadwork and ribbon work. Of course, all these articles--cloth, beads, ribbons were introduced by white traders and were eagerly adopted by Indians. The breechcloth passed between the legs and hung down from the belt a foot or so in front and back. Leggings were made with a seam running down the front of it. A large flap projected over the knee, often decorated with beadwork, and was tailored to fit tightly below the knee with flaps extending over the moccasin tops. Finger woven sashes and knee bands were also commonly used as were grizzly bear claw necklaces.

Dakota wore soft soled moccasins, well adapted to stalking game in a Woodland environment with pine needles and moss on the ground, but poor protection against the prickly pear and bunch grass of the Plains. They were cut of one piece of buckskin, a seam puckered over the instep, with large ankle flaps.

Dakota women wore the central Algonquian style dress, a long, wraparound skirt and a loose blouse. Ribbon work applique and silver brooches were used as decoration. They wore their hair in a long braid down the back and on dress occasions wrapped it with beaded covering from which hung many ribbons and beaded strings.

DAKOTA DESIGN MOTIFS

Very early design motifs used by the Dakota were geometric and zoomorphic in nature, but in the 19th century curvilinear, floral designs became very popular and continue to dominate Dakota beadwork to this day. Most people associate the geometric beadwork designs reminescent of Caucasian rugs with the Sioux, but this was only true of the Lakota and Nakota on the high Plains. There are actually three styles of Dakota floral designs. One is a very realistic style usually done on black velveteen. A second type uses finer design elements and balances them in bilateral symmetry. The third type is borrowed from the Winnebago and Potowatomi and consists of large, stylized floral designs.

The Dakota also made a crude type of pottery. All of the Sioux groups made pottery when they lived east of the Missouri, but when the Lakota and Nakota took up the mobile life of the horse, nomad pottery was abandoned because of its fragility and vessels out of rawhide substituted instead.

As mentioned earlier, the Sísitònwan and the Wáhpetònwan were more Plains-like in their dress styles. The men wore their hair in two braids, often wrapped in otter skin, on either side of the head. Their shirts and leggings had long fringes and their moccasins were often of the hard-soled Plains type.

Some of the Dakota were skillful carvers in wood and bone and made beautiful wooden bowls with animal heads on them. Spoons out of horn were also made, sometimes in the shape of an animal. These were reserved for ceremonial use, plain ones being used in daily life. The bowls usually have a small hole on the edge, this being used to tie it to the belt and leave the hands free for other activities.

The Dakota used rawhide parfleches to store their belongings, like their Plains cousins, only theirs were of a different shape. Rawhide, once dried, becomes very stiff and will hold its shape. Containers were made of wet rawhide and when dry were used much like suitcases and trunks are in white culture. They were usually decorated by painting. In addition the Dakota wove square cedar and basswood fiber bags which they used for storage and work. Some vessels of birchbark were made for eating and preparation of food. Cradleboards were made of wood and resembled more those of the Woodland tribes rather than the soft hide containers of the Lakota and Nakota.

DAKOTA WEAPONS

The Dakota used a long bow, ranging from four to five feet in length. For close in-fighting they used the ball-head and rifly-stock war clubs. They were often decorated with brass tacks. Of course, as guns became available they readily adopted their use. Their superior killing power made them desirable to every Native American.

DAKOTA MUSIC

The Dakota had a rich musical tradition and they had several musical instruments. These included the small two-headed drum and the tall wooden water drum. The water drum was used for all major religious ceremonies while the smaller drum was used in curing rituals for the ill and in games which needed musical accompaniment. There were rasps made of horn and rattles of gourds and deer hooves. Sacred songs were recorded on birch-bark rolls that were kept by medicine men. This was not true writing but a form of mnemonic record.

DAKOTA FIELD GAMES

Popular Dakota field games were snow snake, lacrosse and shinny. They were games that demanded great physical endurance by the men and were excellent training for the rigors of the hunt. Gambling games were also very popular, men playing moccasin game and women playing at "plum shooting," a form of dice played with plum pits shaken in a bowl. Both these games were shared with the Lakota and Nakota.

DAKOTA STORIES

The stories told by Dakota people as part of their cosmology and instructional training for the young had many elements in them that were similar to their Woodland neighbors to the east, but were also some tales which they shared only with other Sioux. These included stories of the Double Face Woman, Spider the Trickster and the Caotida, the "Tree Dweller." There were many religious practices that centered around this last figure. Double Face Woman was an evil woman who was once the wife of one of the gods. At that time she caused great trouble in the Council of the gods and upon earth. For this reason she was banished, to be forever feared and hated by the rest of mankind. One side of her face was that of beauty and the other side was horribly ugly, so her name Double Face. Caotida was likewise a malicious creature who lurked in the woods, tricking men into getting lost. Spider was forever trying to trick people, but more often than not, he ended up being the victim of his jokes.

DAKOTA CEREMONIES

The chief ceremonies of the Dakota were the Medicine Dance which resembled the Algonquian Midewiwin, the Sun Dance, Thunder Dance and Tree Dweller Dance. There was also a dance in which men dressed and danced in imitation of the cormorant, a very important fish in the diet of the eastern Dakota.

The Dakota were the only division of the Sioux that had the social institution of bride-service. A boy, when he had selected a girl as his future wife and had reached an agreement with her parents, went to live for a year in their house, hunting and working for her family. If he demonstrated during that time that he was able to support a wife, he was allowed to marry the girl at a public feast.

The Dakota were and still are considered to be great shamans and medicine men. It was not unusual for Lakota and Nakota to seek out the services of some of the Dakota healers. Tales of their wonder working are numerous. Whereas the medicine men of the Plains used sage as a purifying plant in their ceremonies, Dakota shamans used the fern. Both plants have the property of driving away evil spirits and purifying the area where the ceremony is held.

DAKOTA BURIAL PRACTICES

Two forms of burial were practiced by the Dakota. The first method was to place the body in the ground and build a small house over the grave. The second was to place the body on a scaffold or in a tree. Sometimes after a year or so, the family of the deceased would return, collect the bones and bury them. This was the form of burial most frequently practiced on the Plains.

LOCATION OF THE DAKOTA TODAY

The Dakota consider themselves to be the "oldest" or "original" division of the Sioux. At the present time, though some Dakota still reside in the ancestral region of Minnesota and the eastern Dakotas, the division as a whole is widely scattered as a result of the Minnesota Uprising. Some can be found as far west as Montana where they fled to the protection of their distant cousins, the Assinboine. Others are in Nebraska, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Canada.

THE NAKOTA (WICÍYELA)

The Nakota originally lived in the Leech Lake region of north central Minnesota. Shortly after 1683 the group began to move westward, and in the process formed two Council Fires, the *Ihánktonwàn* or Yankton, and the

Ihánktonwána or the Yanktonai. The Yankton moved southwest to what is now southeastern South Dakota and parts of Iowa and Minnesota. The Yanktonai occupied the area north of the present towns of Miller and Erwin, South Dakota and the southern part of North Dakota, east of the Missouri River. They ranged as far north as the Painted Woods near the present day town of Washburn, North Dakota. This territory included the drainages of the James and the Big Sioux Rivers. The land is rolling hills and tall grass country and today is used chiefly for agriculture and some ranching.

TRIBAL AFFILIATIONS WITH THE NAKOTA

In moving into this territory the Yankton met the Siouian-speaking Poncas. The Poncas were not part of the Seven Council Fires, but they and the Yankton seemed to have established friendly relations and the Poncas set aside part of their lands for use by the Yankton in return for military assistance. Farther north the Yankton and the Yanktonai met the Arikara, Mandan and Hidatsa tribes. Relations with these tribes were sometimes peaceful, but more often hostile. Nevertheless, the Yankton and Yanktonai were influenced by these semi-sedentary, riverine tribes. By the beginning of the reservation period, both groups had adopted many of the cultural traits of these tribes. In some aspects of their economy, dress, housing and ceremonial life, they resembled these riverine tribes more closely than their relatives, the Dakota and the Lakota.

There are some historical events that would prove illustrative of the social forces in operation. In 1851 a band of Yanktonai and Arikara camped together for the duration of the winter. During that period, there was adequate time for members of the two groups to observe the customs, possessions and skills of their neighbors. Those things which seemed useful, interesting, more efficient, or any other of a variety of reasons, might be incorporated into their own cultural complex. This might include even the adoption of ceremonies if they appeared to be especially strong or powerful.

Such cultural exchange could occur as a result of the presence of captives in a band as well as peaceful co-habitation. The Yanktonai led by Medicine Bear contained many people descended from Nuptadi Mandan women that had been captured during one of the periods of intermittent hostilities, including the chief himself. As a result the tribe felt an affinity to the Mandan and often went on buffalo hunts with them.

TREATMENT OF CAPTIVES TAKEN BY THE SIOUX

When the Sioux took captives, they were always adopted into the tribe and made members of a particular family. Young children who were captured were brought up as Sioux, while young women were taken as wives. In general, they were given the same considerate treatment as any other member of the band, and when opportunities arose for escape or ransom, they often chose to stay with their captors. White newsmen and jouranlists never ceased to wonder at this fact. How could civilized white people want to stay with their savage captors? The answer was always simple. Their captors had adopted them and loved them as one of their own. Such love was often hard to leave.

CULTURAL INFLUENCES UPON THE SIOUX

Native American culture, both aboriginally and currently, has been open to influences from outside. As the Sioux moved into new territories they were influenced by the people who became their neighbors as well as by the ecology of the land into which they moved. The Sioux have always been flexible in their adaptation to new influences and changing conditions. Not to have been would constitute an invitation to disaster. All too often, white people try to place the Native American, and perhaps especially such tribes as the Sioux, inside a sort of cultural zoo. Those aspects of Sioux culture which are not "traditional, authentic, aboriginal, or indigeneous" are considered somehow, not truly Native American. If Native Americans don't live in tipis and wear ceremonial clothing, somehow they are less Native Americans than their grandfathers. And curiously enough, what most whites think of as Sioux culture is a stereotypical picture that is really applicable to only one division of the Sioux, and that during a late period in the history of their own cultural development The purpose of this article is to demonstrate the flexibility of the Sioux in adapting to changed living conditions and the fact that they were much more heterogenous than most white people are aware of. Cultural change has been a constant condition of existance for the Sioux and they were never less-Sioux for the changing.

THE ECONOMY OF THE NAKOTA

The economy of the Yankton and Yanktonai rested upon a base of hunting, fishing, plant gathering and river bottom horticulture. Great tribal buffalo hunts took place twice a year, in mid-summer and late fall. In both of these aspects, they were alike their neighbors, the Ponca, Arikara, Mandan and Hidatsa. Unlike them, however, they traveled to the Black Hills, an area controlled by their Lakota cousins, in order to cut new tipi poles for their lodges. Buffalo, elk, deer and antelope were hunted throughout the year by individuals and small groups close to the home villages. Small game was killed with a rabbit stick by the Yanktonai. These were heavy throwing sticks, shaped somewhat like a boomerang and thrown by the hand at relatively close distance to the prey.

Fishing was not as important to the Nakota as it was to the Dakota although it did provide a portion of their usual diet. In the shallow rivers where a man could wade, several men would form a line across the river carrying a seine made of woven willow branches. They would wade up the stream with the seine held in front of them. At intervals, they would bring the ends of the seine together and kill the imprisoned fish with spears. Other ways of fishing were with the bow and arrow, hook and line, and large weirs, the latter were built in the rivers near the villages.

Horticulture was practiced by the women of the Nakota who raised corn, squash and beans. Such crops formed a substantial part of the diet which was supplemented by such wild food plants as the chokecherry, buffalo berry and prairie turnip or tipsina.

NAKOTA SHELTERS

The Nakota built three different types of houses: (1) the skin tipi, so familiar to Western movie fans; (2) the tiúktan, or skin-covered wikiup, generally used only by poor families; (3) the earthlodge. The tiúktan was descended from the dome shaped houses of the Dakota, although the Nakota now covered theirs with hides instead of bark or cattail mats. Only the Yanktonai built earth lodges although the Yankton were known to have stayed in some that had been abandoned by the Arikara. The earth lodges resembled those of the Mandan and Aridara from whom the Yanktonai probably borrowed the house from.

One Yanktonai earthlodge village was that of Drifting Goose at Armadale Island, near Melette, South Dakota. The village contained 15 earthlodges of varying dimensions, with holding capacities of 25 to 75 people. Forty acres of land were under cultivation, of which half was planted in corn and the remainder in beans, squash, peas, potatoes, turnips and other vegetables. A large fish weir had been built just west of the village in the James River. This village was the site of great trade fairs where Lakota from the Plains to the south came to trade horses for the agricultural products and art work of their Nakota cousins and tribes to the east.

NAKOTA BULLBOAT

The Nakota adopted the bullboat from the riverine tribes so as to be able to cross the numerous rivers of their territory. A bullboat looked like a huge, round bow, and it was paddled and pushed across rivers and lakes. Its frame was of flexible sapplings that were tied into position and then covered with a hide. Not the best of boats, but serviceable.

NAKOTA CLAN SYSTEM

At one time the Nakota may have been divided into clans, but by the mid-1800's they were divided into localized sub-bands. These were small groups made up of several related families. Some villages might be made up of several sub-bands while others might be composed exclusively of one sub-band. Below is a list of the sub-bands. There were originally seven bands to which an eighth, the Half Breeds, was added later.

Ihánktonwàn "Dwellers at the End" Yankton
    Cankute "Shooters at the Tree"

Cagū "Lung"
Wakmūha Oin "Gourd Earrings"
Ihāisdaye "Ointment for the Lips"
Wacéunpa "Ones that Boil Food"
Ikmun "Cats"
Oyate Sica "Bad Nation"
Wasicu Cinca "Half Breeds"

Ihánktonwàna "Little Dwellers at the End" Yanktonai
Upper Yanktonai
Wazi Kute "Shooters at the Pine Tree"
Takini
Siksicena "Naughty Ones"
Bakihon "To Slice One's Own"
Pābaksa "Cut Heads"
Kiyuksa "Breakers of the Rule"

Lower Yanktonai or Hunkapatina
Putémnī "Sweat on the Upper Lip"
Sungikceka "Indian Pony"
Takhūha Yuta "Eaters of Hide Scrapings"
Sanona
Ihásа "Red Lips"
Itegu "Burnt Faces"
Pteyutesni "Eat No Buffalo Cows"

NAKOTA GOVERNMENT

The Nakota had village councils led by a chief, an office that tended to be hereditary in certain families. The succession was not rigid, however. If a prospective chief was considered unfit, another son could be chosen for the position. The akícità performed the same policing as among the Dakota, and were chosen on the basis of merit. In times of war or emergency, more akícità might be added to the normal group.

NAKOTA DRESS

The dress of the Nakota resembled that of the riverine tribes in some respects. Yanktonai men wore their hair in three braids, two at the sides of the head and a third wrapped in otter fur at the back. In front the hair was cut in bangs with a longer lock hanging over the nose. At either side of the forehead, hourglass shaped ornaments of dentalium shell sewn on rawhide were tied to the hair with dentalium pendants hanging to the shoulders. Fur turbans were worn by some and eagle feather warbonnets by others. Many old photographs show chiefs wearing the finger-woven sash turbans or otter fur turbands. The roach headdress was introduced along with the Grass Dance ceremony in the late 1800's and remains the most popular head wear today.

The buckskin shirts worn by Nakota men were identical with those of their Lakota relatives to the south. They had long fringe and long strips of beadwork or quill work down the sleeves and across the shoulders. Nakota breech cloth and leggings were different, however. The breech cloth was tucked into the belt in the back, but allowed to hand down in front for about a foot. It was usually decorated with a "V" shaped design. The leggings usually had a box design at the bottom instead of the long beaded strips going up the side that is so characteristic of the Lakota.

Very early pictures of the Nakota show them wearing the Woodland soft soled style of moccasin but they soon adopted the hard soled type. It was better suited to the Plains with its patches of prickly pear. Another favorite ornament was the "Crow necklace," made of lengths of bone beads, each one longer than the one above.

Women wore a one piece dress, in later days heavily beaded, that was indistinguishable from those of the Lakota. Their moccasins were different, however, having a leg wrap or high buckskin top attached to their moccasins. This and the oval shaped women's pouch are styles borrowed from the riverine tribes. The heavy necklaces of bone "hair pipe" were more like their Lakota cousins although Nakota women always made theirs shorter since they thought that the extremely long ones worn by the Teton women were much too heavy and awkward to dance in.

NAKOTA DESIGN MOTIFS

Both floral and geometric design motifs were employed in Nakota bead and quillwork. Some families preferred one over the other, but there was no clear cut division between bands as to what designs they would habitually use. The heavy floral design beaded bags made by the Dakota and Chippewa were highly prized and obtained in trade, but never manufactured by the Nakota themselves.

The Nakota made fine pottery during the nineteenth century, but these were gradually replaced by goods of white manufacture. Parfleches and some crude baskets were made, the latter probably learned from the Manda.

Baby carriers were a soft hide envelope, profusely decorated, in which the child was placed and carried about in his mother's arms. If she wished to carry the child on her back or on horseback, she would tie the envelope onto a wooden frame that would allow the cradle to be placed in an upright position and support the infant. Nakota women, as well as those of the Lakota, spared no efforts in the decoration of their baby carriers. Before beads become common, the hide envelopes were embroidered with rows and rows of red-dyed quillwork. Later they were beaded over the entire surface. A well decorated baby carrier was evidence of a women's skill in the decorative arts.

NAKOTA WEAPONS

In both hunting and warfare, the Nakota used the short bow, in contrast to the Dakota. A short bow was much better suited to use on horseback. In the first days on the Plains, the Yanktonai used soft hide armor and shields to protect themselves from injury in battle. These were later discarded although the use of shields continued up to the end of the Sioux wars. Although the Dakota style ball-head and rifle-stock warclubs were highly regarded by the Nakota as dance regalia, they preferred the stone-headed war club for actual combat. Its long handle permitted the warrior to swing the club over a longer range, an advantage when fighting on horseback.

NAKOTA MUSIC

The Nakota had three types of drums which were reserved for specific types of events. These were the single-headed tambour drum which was preferred for gambling games and healing ceremonies, the large dance drum which was introduced along with the grass dance and has now come to be preferred as the pow wow drum, and the tall water drum, used only by the Yanktonai. The water drum was originally a Woodland instrument, but was adopted by the Sioux in their residence in the east. The Yanktonai continued to use the water drum in their Medicine Lodge ceremonies, another Woodland innovation. Deerhoof, gourd and hide rattles were used. Gourd rattles were very rare, their use restricted to medicine men and members of the Medicine Lodge. The Yanktonai recorded the songs of the Medicine Lodge on boards or bark rolls. Like those of the Dakota, these were not true writing, but mnemonic devices that aided in recalling the songs.

NAKOTA CEREMONIES

Of all the religious ceremonies practiced by the Nakota, the Sun Dance was probably the most important one. It was an annual ceremony to give thanks for having survived the year and to pray for good fortune and health for the coming year. Other important ceremonies were the rituals of the Tree-dweller cult and the Medicine Lodge. The latter, the *wánkan wacípi*, was very powerful and sacred, but was performed infrequently. It was an organization of all the shamanistic groups, Bear, Buffalo, Wolf and Tree-dweller, who joined in a mutual effort at its celebration. The ceremony disappeared soon after the Nakota were confined to the reservation. Pressure was applied to discourage the belief and participation in native religion. Those who persisted in pagan activities were often punished by having their food rations withheld until they corrected their "scandalous behavior." Religious freedom is guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States, but the federal government did not feel that such rights extended to the Sioux. Such harassment was fairly standard on most reservations of the time, especially where the agent in charge was a minister of a Christian faith. Religious freedom was reserved for the White or the converted Christian.

There were other important religious ceremonies practiced by the Nakota. One was the Blue Bead ceremony. The parents of a child who wanted to honor it held a public gathering at which they gave away goods such as blankets, pots, beadwork, etc. They feasted all the people who came and a medicine man performed certain rites. The child for whom the ceremony was performed enjoyed special status and privileges after its completion. He was allowed to wear a special ornament, part of which was a blue bead, which signified to all that the Blue Bead ceremony had been performed for him and he was to be accorded respect and honor. There were obligations as well as privileges. The child was expected to lead an explementary life, and to be generous with the poor.

Other ceremonial complexes were the trapping of eagles and the age-grading of the Nakota warrior societies. Both are attributed to influence from the surrounding riverine tribes, Hidasta, Mandan. Warrior societies were military organizations to which men were invited to join, usually on the basis of merit. There might be several warrior societies in any one village. Members of the same society were expected to help their fellow members in times of personal need or war. Meetings of the societies were fairly frequent and the men enjoyed feasting together, so these groups had important social functions as well as being a mutual aid association. Age-graded societies are organized on principles of seniority based on age. Once a warrior had reached a certain age, he was invited to join a particular society. Men younger than the required age were never allowed to join irrespective of their accomplishments.

Nakota shamans were divided into different classes according to their powers and expertise. Those who had received power from the buffalo were surgeons and treated wounds, broken bones, etc. Medicine men who had bear power were experts in the use of herbs and treated those whose illness called for herbal remedies. Tree-dweller shamans specialized in allergies and had effective cures for these ailments.

NAKOTA FIELD GAMES

Nakota men played shinny, la crosse and hoop-and-pole. All were excellent training for the physical demands of the hunt and war. The hoop-and-pole game consisted of trying to throw a pointed stick through a small wooden hoop. Sometimes the hoop would have a webbing of interlaced strings fastened to it. Points would be counted based on the part of the webbing that the stick had pierced. In days when the spear was an important weapon, the game was useful for developing hand and eye coordination. Gambling games were also popular. Men played a hand game while women played the "plum shooting" game, basically a form of dice. When the Nakota camped with the Dakota, or occasionally the Chippewa, they played moccasin game since the other tribes were unfamiliar with the hand game. Both are basic guessing games. In the hand game, the players are divided into two teams, each side receiving ten marked sticks. These are tally sticks and the object of the game is for one side to win the other team's ten so that the winning side will have twenty sticks altogether. There are four bones, two of which are marked and two plain. A set of bones consist of one marked and one plain. Two players on one side will receive a set of bones. The players conceal a bone in each hand and it is up to the players of the opposing team to guess in which hands the marked bones are concealed. If the guess is correct, that team gets the set of bones. If the guess is wrong, the team loses a tally stick. A team may make one correct and one incorrect guess. In that case it will get one set of bones and one tally stick. The guessing continues until both sets of bones are on one side and then it is the other team's turn to guess. Once all twenty sticks are in the possession of one team, the game is over. All of this is accompanied by much singing and drumming. The team which is hiding the bones will sing special gambling songs and keep time with small drums. The purpose of the songs is to confuse the other side and to make them guess incorrectly. Each time they do so, they lose more tally sticks. Some individuals had particularly strong medicine for gambling and were known for their good luck.

The moccasin game is another guessing game in which small stones are concealed under one of a number of moccasins. The other team must guess where they are, all the while there is much singing and drumming. Many of the early missionaries thought gambling to be the work of the devil, and campaigned actively against it. The games are still remembered and played on occasion although most people prefer to play card games when they want to gamble.

NAKOTA MARRIAGE CEREMONY

When a man wished to marry a girl, he approached her father with gifts. If they were accepted, he was allowed to take the girl to his home. Early missionaries thought this meant that girls were sold like slaves. In actuality, most girls were consulted whether they wanted to marry this man. If they were unwilling, they were not forced into marriage. The gifts were compensation to the family of the girl for losing her. It was also a way of insuring that a man really wished to marry her and was indicative of his ability to support a wife.

NAKOTA BURIAL PRACTICES

The Nakota buried their dead on scaffolds built out on the prairies. They believed that if a person was buried in the ground he would come back to haunt the living. They honored their dead in the Ghost-lodge or Spirit Keeping ceremony. Before the dead person was put on the scaffold, a lock of hair was cut from his head. The hair was kept for a year. In some cases, especially in the death of a beloved child, a special lodge was erected in which the hair was kept. Throughout the year, the family accumulated great amounts of goods and utensils, and at the end of the year, the ceremony was held and the ghost of the dead was released. A great feast was held at which the goods were given out and the official period of mourning was over. The Spirit Keeping ceremony was shared with the Lakota to the south and west.

LOCATION OF THE NAKOTA TODAY

The present day Nakota are scattered over many reservations in North and South Dakota, Montana and parts of Canada. These would be the Standing Rock and Devil's Lake reservations in North Dakota, the Crow Creek and Yankton reservations in South Dakota, the Fort Peck reservation in Montana and the Oak Lake Reserve in Manitoba, Canada.

The Assinboin of Montana were once members of the Nakota division of the Sioux, but several hundred years ago they chose to affiliate themselves with the Plains Cree and Plains Ojibwa in warfare against their relatives, the Dakota. For this they were called Hohe or "Rebels" and were renounced as part of the Sioux nation. After this incident they moved further west into the Rockies. Some bands still maintained relations with their Sioux relatives, but they were no longer considered as members of the Seven Council Fires, although they still refer to themselves as Nakota. It was on the basis of this distant kinship that some Yanktonai fled to Montana to seek refuge with the Assinboin after the Minnesota Uprising. The word Assinboin is derived from the Algonquian word Assnipwan meaning "Stone Sioux" from their habit of cooking food with the stone boiling method.

THE LAKOTA (TITONWAN)

The first band of the Sioux nation to move unto the Plains were the Titonwan, or the Lakota, as they call themselves. Titonwan means "Dwellers on the Plains" and is sometimes shortened to Teton. Originally the Titonwan were only one of the Seven Council Fires, but after they moved unto the Plains, they prospered and became more numerous than the combined total of the rest of the tribe. It is the Lakota that exemplified the image of the Plains Indian with which most White people are familiar.

LAKOTA SUB-BANDS

The Lakota are divided into seven sub-bands and these into camps or kindred of famous leaders. The seven sub-bands are as follows:

Húnkpapà "Campers at the Horn"
Mnikondžu or Hohwodzu "Planters beside the Water," Minneconjou
Sihasapa "Blackfoot" (Not to be confused with the Blackfoot tribe)
Oohenonpa "Two Kettle"
Sičangu "Burnt Thigh," Brule
Itazipčo "Those Without Bows," Sansarcs
Oglala "Scatter Their Own"

LAKOTA MIGRATION

The Lakota, as are all the Sioux, are recent migrants to the Plains, and it was the Titonwan who ranged the earliest and farthest west. Early White explorers met the Teton on the Mississippi in what is now central Minnesota around 1680. By 1700 they had moved to the Lake Traverse region in northeastern South Dakota, called Lake of the Tetons on French maps of the region. By 1750 the sub-bands of the Lakota were scattered along the Missouri and some camps had even begun to cross it in search of buffalo in the wide plains to the west. The change from a mixed horticultural economy to a nomadic, hunting economy came about gradually, partially as a result of migration and partially because of the consequences of the availability of horses and guns.

One story is told among the Oglala about how their grandfathers came to cross the Missouri. An old man named Left Hand told this as it was told to him by his grandfather. It seems that a small group of Oglala were traveling along what is now called Plate Creek where it empties into the Missouri. There were only 30 to 40 tipis in the camp and they were starving and without food. In those days they had no horses and their only pack animals were dogs. Their tipis were very small since they had to be transported by the dogs. A hunter had spotted some buffalo walking on the frozen Missouri River, and ran back to camp to alert the camp crier. This was a man whose responsibility it was to run through the camp and announce anything of general importance. He rushed down the circle of lodges, calling the men to the hunt. They pursued the buffalo out on the ice. The buffalo's hooves slipped on the icy surface, and it was easy for the hunters to kill them. Since they happened to be closest to the west bank, they dragged the carcasses to that side and made camp so as to finish preparing the meat. They intended to go back to the east side of the river, but before they could do so, a warm chinook wind melted the ice and they were stranded on the unfamiliar west bank. Gradually as spring came, they moved up from the Missouri valley to the uplands.

They continued traveling along the west side of the Missouri and one day saw two strange objects approaching in the distance. As they came closer it appeared to be two men riding strange animals that they had never seen before. These animals were horses and the Lakota named them sunka wakan, "mysterious dog." The two strangers were friendly, but spoke a language which the Lakota could not understand. Finally the men drew signs on the ground indicating that the Oglala should follow them, and in two days they would come to the main camp of the strangers' people.

The Oglala followed the two men and arrived at their hosts' camp. It was in the valley of the White River and was the largest camp that the Lakota had ever seen. The lodges were very large since their owners had those great, mysterious animals to carry their possessions. Beyond the camp were large herds of horses grazing on the spring grass. These people were the Cheyenne, and they treated their Lakota guests with great hospitality and generosity. At the end of their visit, the Cheyenne gave the Oglala headmen horses, besides many other fine gifts. The two peoples parted, but ever since that time have been allies and friends. From this event the Lakota named Platte Creek *Pte Kdi Inyanka*, "Buffalo Returned Running," and remembered it as the place where the Oglala crossed the frozen Missouri.

More and more Lakota crossed the Missouri and joined those first adventurous bands on the plains. As their numbers increased, they moved southward into Nebraska, westward into Colorado and Wyoming, northward into North Dakota and Montana, and occasionally into Manitoba and Saskatchewa. In their migrations they displaced other tribes which had been living in the areas or else established their dominance over them. They found the Crow inhabiting the Black Hills and successfully drove them from the area. The *Paha Sapa*, the Black Hills, became the most sacred of grounds for the Lakota and its sheltered valleys were favored camping grounds during the harsh winters.

LAKOTA FOOD

Once they moved unto the plains, buffalo became the mainstay of their diet, supplemented by deer and antelope. The bands travelled widely in their search for game and it was rare for more than two or three sub-bands to camp together except at Sun Dance time. Certain wild foods were gathered to vary the all meat diet. One of these was *tipsina* or turnip which is still preferred as a vegetable by contemporary Lakota. Occasionally some women would plant small gardens of corn or vegetables, but it was more usual to obtain these foods through trade or raiding the horticultural tribes. Although the rivers abounded in fish, they were rarely eaten since the Lakota thought them to be "unclean" food.

LAKOTA SHELTER

The tipi was the principle dwelling of the Lakota in both summer and winter. The lodges varied in size depending on the number of people in the family, the skill of the male hunters, and the prestige of the owner. Headmen usually had large tipis since they were expected to do a great deal of entertaining. Some lodges were even large enough for people to dance inside, so the long cold winters were not necessarily lacking in entertainment. The coverings of the lodges were made of buffalo hides, with the average ranging between 12 to 14 hides. A tipi this size would have a rough diameter of 14 to 16 feet. The largest of tipis required from thirty to fifty hides for completion. Sometimes hunters or a war party would make a temporary shelter that resembled the dome shaped wikiup of the Woodland years. A very poor family or a lone widow might resort to a hide wikiup since they didn't possess enough horses to transport the regular tipi cover and poles. Miniature wikiups were also used as portable dog houses. Once the Lakota were confined to reservations and hides became difficult to obtain, they turned to using canvas or muslin for tipi covers. All the tipis one sees today are made from these heavy fabrics. Hide tipis exist only in museums today except for the rare Indian hobbist (always White) who in his passion for authenticity, insists on having a lodge of hides.

Today many Lakota live in tents during the summer, but these are of the side-walled variety, not tipis. These tents were issued to the Lakota as part of their treaty goods and have come to be widely used. Old people say they are not as warm as a good tipi, but since people live in houses during the winter time, it really doesn't matter.

Tipis can be seen at the major Indian fairs and powwows, but they are outnumbered today by the sidewall and pop-up tents as well as by the Ford campers and microbuses. It is rather difficult to transport the poles necessary for erecting a tipi and the Sioux, always a practical people, have come to prefer tents which are more easily transported.

LAKOTA HOUSEHOLD ITEMS

Once the Lakota were fully mobilized, they discarded those things which were easily broken and their household equipment was flexible, durable and packable. Rawhide suitcases, called parfleches, became essential items. A single piece of rawhide was folded or laced into different shapes depending on the object it was intended to store. The most common was a rectangular-shaped envelope that was used to store dried meat and larger clothing articles. Cylindrical parfleches were used to store the elaborate warbonnets and head gear of the men while smaller, rectangular pouches were used for small personal belongings, medicine bundles and herbs. All of their personal and utilitarian possessions were designed to be packed and stored in small containers. Even the large and complex dancing bustles of the men could be collapsed, rolled up and stored in parfleche containers. Many of today's dance bustles do not have this advantage and must be carried about in huge cardboard boxes made especially for that purpose. The parfleches were always decorated with painted, abstract designs which were characteristic of the containers.

Cooking utensils were as light and durable as other aspects of Lakota material culture. As mentioned above, cooking utensils were abandoned once the Lakota were fully mobile. They resorted to the ancient stone-boiling method of preparing food. The paunch of an animal was cleaned and suspended above the ground by four sticks. Into this was poured a quantity of water and whatever food was to be cooked. In a separate fire, stones were heated until they were red hot and then dropped into the paunch. This was repeated until the water was boiling and the food was cooked. The stones were removed as they cooled and of course all were removed when the meal was served. In this way the paunch of the animal served as a cooking kettle, and once the meal was served, the kettle could be eaten too. The Lakota women eagerly adopted metal kettles once they were available from traders, and the stone-boiling method was used only by men on the warpath who had chosen to dispense with them in favor of lightness and ease of mobility. Bowls were made from the burls of elm or boxelder trees. Sometimes they had little effigies carved on the edge of the bowl, but these were usually reserved for special ceremonies. Each person had their own bowl and took it with him whenever he went to eat at another person's lodge. This custom is still continued today whenever one is invited to a special feast or ritual dinner at another's house. Spoons were made from the horns of buffalo or the mountain sheep. The stems were usually decorated with quilled and later beaded wrappings. Occasionally a very elaborate, carved stem was created, again for special events.

LAKOTA KINSHIP SYSTEM

The basic social unit above the nuclear family was the tiospaye, sometimes called "camp" by white people. The tiospaye was an extended bilaterial and bilocal kin grouping. This means that descent was reckoned through both sets of parents and residence after marriage could be with eight sets of in-laws. This choice was usually made on the basis of the propserity and affluence of that tiospaye. Each was headed by one or more chiefs. Several tiospaye composed a sub-band of which there were seven. The names of these were given at the beginning of this section. Membership in both tiospaye and sub-band was rather fluid and families could join or leave whenever they wished. While camping with a particular tiospaye or sub-band, however, a family was subject to the rules and authority of the chief and council.

The clan system of the eastern Lakota had completely disappeared among the Lakota by the late 1800's. It is unclear at this point in time how the various bands acquired their names. Some bands have verbal traditions that account for their origin, but this is often complicated by the existence of several versions of these origin stories. One thing is obvious though. While the names for the Seven Council Fires were based upon locality of residence, names for the bands seem to have resulted from specific instances in the history of that band or from specific customs or traditions of that group. In later years on the reservation, Lakota sub-bands came to take the name of their leader at the time of their formation. Many contemporary communities on the Pine Ridge reservation are named after their original leader and are descended from sub-bands that were formed in the early reservation period, e.g., Calico, Payabeya, etc.

LAKOTA GOVERNMENT

Lakota chiefs were selected largely on the bais of individual merit although there was some consideration for family prestige. Leadership positions were more frequent in some socially prominent families, but there was always sufficient social mobility that even the poorest of men could attain a chieftainship if sufficiently gifted and energetic. Once a man had been made a leader, his personal characteristics determined the size of his following. If he was successful in war and in the hunt, and if he was diplomatic in settling disputes, he was likely to attract and hold a large following. Since a family was not bound to follow any leader unless they chose to do so willingly, a chief had to please his followers if he was to retain his position. This was a truly democratic political system. While residing in a camp, a man made himself subject to the decisions of that chief, but if he was truly upset or in disagreement with a policy or situation, he had only to take his family and go elsewhere.

No one was barred from chieftainship by birth, and members of other Lakota bands and even other tribes, became chiefs among the Teton. There were Osage and Shawnee sub-bands among the Brule, as well as a Yankton group. The members of the sub-bands were Brule, but their originial chiefs were of other tribal origins, thus their distinctive names. This open-ended pattern of leadership roles was in contrast to that of the eastern Dakota where clan affiliation and family played a much more prominent role in the selection of leaders.

Since a chief must be popular in order to maintain a following, this placed checks on the decisions that he was likely to make. His rulings had to be fair and just, and he had to act for the welfare of all the people and not just himself. The council acted as a further check on the exercise of dictatorial powers. It was composed of most of the influential medicine men. An individual's influence was in proportion to his success and special skills. A well known hunter was listened to in matters concerning the hunt, while another man, known for his knowledge of the land

and the location of good camping grounds, would be asked for an opinion while discussing the movement of the camp.

The exact details of chief, council, shirt-wearers and policemen varied among the different bands of the Lakota, but all had some carient of a chief/council governmental system. The Oglala word for chief is *wicasa itancan*. This man was chosen by the council after long deliberation and he had the general responsibility for the welfare of the people. Under him were the *wakiconza* or councilors and the shirtwearers. Their numbers differed but for the Oglala there were four in each category. The duties of the *wakiconza* related to the civil governing of the camp and its relations to others. The shirt-wearers were responsible for military affairs and were generally well known warriors in the prime of their career as fighters. Under both of these offices were the *akicita* or band policemen. The *wakiconza* selected four men to act as head *akicita* and they in turn chose any number of men to act as their assistants. It was their duty to see that the people of the camp acted according to the laws and decisions of the council and other appointed leaders. In some cases an entire warrior society would be selected to act as *akicita*.

It has often been said that "Indians" reached all decisions by unanimous vote. This was not the case with all Indian tribes, but was true for the Lakota. Because of the high degree of individual autonomy and diffuse political system, decisions had to be in accord with the wishes of the majority of the people. As pointed out before, if a council or leader made too many unpopular decisions, the people of the camp would simply pack up and leave. Decisions were reached in council by a long, painstaking process but one which guaranteed ultimate consensus. The topic of any meeting was usually already known. Each man could speak as to how he felt about the issue at hand. As each man spoke, it became clear how the group in general felt and discussion continued until all were in agreement. Men spoke in order of prestige, those most honored being first. In this way the influential men of the band had the first opportunity at directing and influencing the decision reached. Women had no part in these councils, participation being the sole perogative of the men.

The political system was extremely democratic, in fact much more so than the representative system that is used by the federal government of the United States. In light of this it is rather ludicrous when one reads the statements of the early missionaries and do-gooders in their self-appointed mission to the Sioux, to whom they were going to teach the "blessed lessons of Christianity and democracy."

LAKOTA DRESS

In their dress the Lakota presented the ideal of what most people consider Plains Indian. Both men and women wore their hair in two braids on either side of the head. Men often wrapped their braids in otter skin or red cloth, especially for any sort of event that demanded formal dress. Women also wrapped their hair in otter skin, to the bottom of which they added elaborately beaded or quilled bobs. Men's shirts were profusely ornamented with long fringes, ermine skins, paint and for a few special men, hair locks. Long beaded or quilled strips were placed over the shoulders and down the sleeves. At the front and back of the neck opening, a rectangular, triangular ornament was fastened. Breechcloths, especially those worn on formal occasions, were long and narrow, and often reached the ground in back. Leggings were long tubes fastened at the belt and were cut loose for more comfort while riding horseback. These were usually ornamented with a beaded or quilled strip up one side.

Moccasins were the hard-soled Plains type, much better adapted to the semi-arid country of the Lakota than the soft-soled kind of their eastern home. They were plain for daily wear, but some were partially or fully beaded for dress-up occasions. Dandies who spent great deals of time on horseback often wore moccasins that were fully beaded on the soles as well as the tops. Affectionate mothers sometimes made such moccasins for their infants still on the cradle board. "Hair pipes," long bone beads made especially for the Indian trade, were very popular and were used in various ways by both men and women. Breastplates made of hair pipes arranged horizontally were almost an essential piece of clothing for every Lakota man.

A man had to earn the right to wear eagle feathers and there was an elaborate ranking system that went with it. The nature of a man's deeds were told by the number and manner of decoration of the feathers in a man's costume. The full eagle feather war bonnets so familiar to the white man were originally reserved only for very distinguished, older warriors. Each feather in the bonnet stood for a particular war deed and it was very few men who were brave and fortunate enough to have earned the right to wear them. Red Cloud of the Oglalas was such a man, but when one of his sons borrowed the bonnet to wear on a war party, the latter was ridiculed for his presumption. Such bonnets had to be earned, not inherited. Today many men who lack such war records wear war bonnets, but are very aware of the difference between then and now. In addition to war bonnets there were a variety of hair ornaments that were worn by Lakota men. One that continues to be popular today consists of a quilled piece about two inches wide and six inches long. A bison tail was fastened at the bottom; today this is usually a bull's tail. Quilled streamers and one or two eagle feathers were fastened at the top and the whole thing was tied on the back of a man's head. Contemporary male dancers often wear these in combination with a porcupine roach.

There were some regional differences within the Lakota. The three bands which ranged the farthest north--the Hunkapapa, Sanarcs and Sihasapa sometimes wore clothing that showed riverine influences, such as leggings with "box" designs on them rather than the long strips up the side, breechcloths with "V" designs and the "Crow" necklace.

Women's dresses showed the same flair for elaborate decoration. The yokes of dresses were fully beaded and weighed up to twenty pounds by themselves. Elk tooth and centalium shell dresses were also very popular. In each instance the yoke of the dress was entirely covered. "Hair pipe" breastplates with the pipes fixed vertically were also great favorites. For festive wear a woman's leggings were covered with a solid layer of beads, in addition to her fully beaded moccasins. Belts made with large nickle conchos (called German silver) had trailers that dragged on the ground when a woman was not on horseback. These elaborate outfits can still be seen at tribal gatherings although there is a general movement toward simpler women's dresses, largely because of the enormous amounts of time that is invested in such outfits.

LAKOTA DESIGN MOTIFS

Lakota quill and bead work designs were usually geometric although there are some examples of naturalistic figures worked in beads. Some very old photographs show men with Dakota style breechcloths decorated in floral designs. The Lakota have always been a creative people and like to integrate articles of clothing from other tribes with their own. Historically they traded horses for Ojibwa or Dakota shoulder bags. Although it was not common, some Lakota families specialized in producing floral quill or bead work.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LAKOTA MEN

Lakota culture, perhaps even more so than the other divisions of the Sioux, was a homocentric one. That is, the male was the most honored person in the society and masculine activities enjoyed more prestige than feminine ones. The female was not a dishonored creature by any means. Women who lived good lives were honored and respected, but it was the activities of the men around which the life of the camp revolved. The war path and the hunt were the most exciting as well as most important perogatives of the male role. And it was on his prowess as a hunter and successful warrior that a man built his reputation and social standing. Women shared in the reflected glory of their male relatives and were proud to sing honoring songs when one returned successfully from the hunt or war. The Lakota had a very extensive system of warrior societies, each of which had its own regalia, songs, customs and dances. There was a good amount of friendly rivalry between the various societies which sometimes resulted in the stealing of the wives of rival warriors. The Oglala had seven of these societies. They were:

Tokala, Kit Fox
Kangiyuha, Crow Owners
Cante Tinza, Braves
Miwatani
Ihoka, Badgers
Sotka Yuha, Bare Lance Owners
Wiciska, White Marks

LAKOTA CEREMONIES

The major religious ceremonies were the Sun Dance, the Alowanpi, and the Horse Dance. These were events which occasioned great encampments of the people during the summer. Of the three, the Sun Dance was the most important and it has persisted as a form of traditional religious worship to this day. It involves the piercing of flesh and offering of blood in thanksgivings and prayers to Wakan Tanka. These were the only events that would bring the majority of the Lakota together during the summer. The Medicine Lodge ceremony of the Dakota and Yanktonai did not appear among the Lakota although medicine men would sometimes gather to demonstrate their powers. There were many kinds of shamans and healers, among them were Elk Dreamers, Bear Doctors, Buffalo Doctors and Eagle Men, Wanble wicasa. One type of shaman, the Yuwipi man, has come to be the most numerous of today's traditional religious practitioners. Yuwipi ceremonies are held at night in a darkened room at the beginning of which the medicine man is securely bound and placed on the floor in front of his altar. The lights are put out and singing is begun by the shaman's helpers. The spirits usually announce their presence by small sparks of light dancing around the room and off the ceiling. During the lights out phase, the spirits untie the medicine man and give him instructions or messages. When the lights are put on, the medicine man is found seated before his altar.

LAKOTA FIELD GAMES

The Lakota youth would have felt at home playing with any of his Sioux relatives since they all played the same games. Shinny and hoop-and-pole were popular among the young. Another game called bone horses is still played by the majority of Lakota youth at some time in their childhood. The knuckle bones from the necks or ankles of game animals are used to represent horses, cows, (buffalo and horses in the old days.) The children try to accumulate great herds of these animals and play at ranching or hunting, the little bones being their play creatures. Hand game was a popular pasttime in the winter, but has now been supplanted by card games as gambling diversions.

LAKOTA MARRIAGE CEREMONY

If a young man wished to marry, he accumulated a number of horses and presented them to the father of the girl. If the family of the prospective bride approved of the match and the number of horses was sufficient, the girl was given over to the relatives of the young man. However, if the gift of horses was judged insufficient, or if the young man was unacceptable, the horses were left standing at the tipi and the young suitor had to take them back. The young girl always had some say in this choice of a future husband and if she objected strongly to a particular suitor, she was not forced into marriage. For girls of wealthy families, the bride price demanded was sometimes in excess of one hundred ponies. Occasionally a young couple, for various reasons, would elope. When after a period of time, they returned to their own camp, they were accepted as a married couple, but such a marriage was slightly lower in prestige than the usual exchange of horses. There was no marriage ceremony, per se, except for a very brief one that was performed only for the offspring of very wealthy and prestigeous families. For a long time, the native marriage ceremony was forbidden, as were all forms of traditional religion. However in the past two years on the Pine Ridge reservation, there have been at least two traditional wedding ceremonies performed by medicine men and another on the Rosebud reservation.

LAKOTA BURIAL CEREMONIES

When a person died, he was placed on a scaffold built on the crest of a high hill along with some of his favorite possessions. Sometimes a horse was killed at the bottom of the scaffold to accompany its master on the long journey. After a period of time, if possible, members of the immediate family would return to inter the bones in the ground. The Oglala believed that a dead person traveled over the Milky Way to the land of the ancestors where they would meet all of their previously deceased relatives. Here all would be joyfully reunited and life would be bountiful. The Lakota had a Spirit Keeping Ceremony that involved the keeping of a lock of hair of the deceased for a year and a feast at the end of that period.

LAKOTA ORAL LITERATURE

Most of the oral literature of the Lakota revolve around the themes of the hunt and the war path. The Tree-deweller spirit of the Dakota is transformed into a grassland spirit and is a minor character compared to the figures of the Buffalo and the Thunder.

LOCATION OF THE LAKOTA TODAY

The Lakota today can be found on reservations in North and South Dakota, Montana and Canada. The Oglala, the only band of the Lakota to receive a reservation all of their own, are the most numerous and the most traditional of the Teton. The location of the various sub-bands is listed below. Some individuals may have married and be living on other reservations, but the largest numbers of the various sub-bands reside on these reservations.

Hŭnkpapà Standing Rock Reservation, North and South Dakota; Ft. Peck Reservation, Montana; Wood Mountain Reserve, No. 160, Saskatchewan, Canada.

Mnikondžu	Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota.
Sihasapa	Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota; Standing Rock Reservation, North and South Dakota.
Oohenonpa	Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota.
Sičangu	Heyata Wicasa, Highland People or Upper Brule, Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota. Kul Wicasa, Lowland People or Lower Brule, Lower Brule Reservation, South Dakota.
Itazipčo	Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota.
Oglala	Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota.

THE STORY OF THE SACRED PIPE

One cannot underestimate the importance of the pipe in the ritual life of the Sioux. The smoking of the pipe preceded all important meetings, was the sign of true hospitality to a guest, and was a central part of any religious ritual. While smoking is a secular act of pleasure among the White, to the Sioux it was a religious act, one full of symbolism and importance. The Sioux nation retains in its possession a Sacred Pipe. The Sioux believe that this Pipe was given to them by White Buffalo Woman, who some think is the daughter of the chief of the gods. Almost every Sioux can relate the story of the Sacred Pipe and this story and the Pipe itself remain as some of the most important features of the traditional religion. The following is an Oglala version.

The pipe of the Lakota means prayer and with it the person prays not just for himself, but for the whole world. This pipe is sacred because it was brought to the Lakota in a sacred way. This is how it came.

One morning two hunters were standing on a hill looking for game. They saw something coming closer to them that was very strange. When it got near them, they saw that it was a beautiful woman dressed in white buckskin and carrying a bundle on her back. This woman was very beautiful and one of the hunters had bad intentions toward her. His friend warned him that she was sacred and that he should not have bad thoughts. The hunter disregarded the warnings and advanced towards the woman with the intention of raping her. The woman stopped and she also warned the man that she was _wakan_, holy. Suddenly a cloud covered the hill and both the woman and the evil hunter. When it lifted the sacred woman was standing alone. The one with bad intentions was lying at her feet and was nothing but bones with terrible snakes eating at him.

The woman instructed the other hunter to return to his camp and prepare a special tipi for her as she was coming to talk to the people. He quickly left and told the people what had happened. It was a custom for those who had been on a vision quest to have a tipi prepared so they could speak of their experiences. In the same way they prepared a tipi for this sacred woman whom they had never seen before.

When she came she told the people that the bundle she carried was _wakan_ and must be treated as such. Whenever they prayed, they must use the pipe to send their voices to _Wakan Tanka_. She showed them that the stone of the pipe was the earth, and the Buffalo carved upon it was all the four-leggeds who live on the earth. The stem of the pipe is of wood to represent all that grows upon the earth. There were twelve feathers hanging from the pipe where the stem meets the bowl, and these represented all the winged creatures of the air.

She showed them how to smoke it and told them that the smoke which rose from the pipe carried the prayers to _Wakan Tanka_. All who smoked the pipe were bound together as relatives. She told them that every dawn was a holy event because the light comes from Wakan Tanka. And finally she told them that every person on earth is sacred and should be treated as such.

She left the Pipe with them, having made one man its Keeper. She walked out of the tipi and across the camp circle. As she came upon the open prairie, the people saw her sit down on the ground. When she rose she had become a white buffalo which then vanished into the plains.

The Sacred Pipe is still kept on the Cheyenne River Reservation by the descendants of the first Keeper.... Any who wishes to make a special pilgrimage to the Pipe can do so. It is still an object of great reverence to many Sioux.

QUESTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

One of the most important goals of this entire unit is to point out the cultural diversity of Native Americans, even within the same tribe. It is also designed to point up the inadequacy of the Plains Native American stereotype so commonly held by non-Native Americans.

Questions and Activities

1. Where does the word "Sioux" come from?
2. What do the people known as the Sioux call themselves in their own language?
3. What does the word mean?
4. Draw a diagram of the Seven Council Fires showing the Native American name, translation and the contemporary name, if there is such. At the same time, organize the Council Fires so that they fall into the triparte division of Dakota, Nakota and Lakota.
5. Draw a map of the original homeland of the Sioux nation.
6. Show the migratory path of the various divisions of the Sioux as they moved westward.
7. Why was the horse so important to the development of Plains culture?
8. Why did the Whites want the land of the Sioux?
9. Why did the Whites take the Black Hills?
10. What finally drove Crazy Horse into surrender?
11. Was he treated fairly?
12. Discuss the importance of the Ghost Dance and its relation to Wounded Knee.
13. Were the Native Americans allowed religious freedom as were the Whites?
14. Has Congress been fair in their dealings with the Sioux?
15. Discuss the difference between a battle and a massacre.
16. Point out on a map the location of present day Sioux. Where possible, specify what Council Fire they belong to.

The Dakota: Questions and Activities

1. Have the class pretend they are Dakota and have them tell how they live, what foods they eat, etc.
2. Draw a picture of the various types of Dakota houses. Which ones did they use in winter, summer, etc.

3. Have the class make up a miniature council and make decisions.
4. Discuss the governing system of the Dakota in contrast to that of the United States.
5. With the help of pictures and slides, point out the differences between the clothing of men and women.
6. Did Dakota have pottery? What happened to it when the Lakota and Nakota moved into the Plains?
7. Did the Dakota use or carve wood for anything?
8. What did the Dakota use for containers to store things?
9. What kind of games did the Dakota play?
10. How were Dakota marriages arranged?
11. How did the Dakota bury their dead?

The Nakota: Questions and Activities

1. Show on a map the original home of the Nakota.
2. Show the migratory route of the Nakota.
3. What were some of the important influences upon the Nakota when they reached the Plains? How did this affect their lives, culture, etc?
4. How did the Sioux treat their captives?
5. Have the class pretend they are Nakota and tell how they live, what foods they eat, etc.
6. Draw a picture of the various types of Nakota houses. Discuss how these were alike and different from those of the Dakota.
7. Draw a picture of the bullboat.
8. Make a chart of the two Council Fires of the Nakota and their sub-bands. Include the Nakota names and the translations.
9. Point out the differences between Dakota and Nakota types of governments.
10. Describe the typical dress of a Nakota male and female.
11. Were the Nakota allowed religious freedom?
12. What type of musical instruments did the Nakota use?
13. What kind of religious ceremonies did the Nakota have?
14. Make a hoop and play hoop-and-pole. Devise your own point system.
15. Make a set of gambling bones and play hand games.
16. How did the Nakota bury their dead and what ceremonies were associated with it?
17. How were Nakota marriages arranged? How did this differ with Dakota marriages?
18. On a map, point out the present day location of the Nakota.
19. How are the Assinboine related to the Nakota?

The Lakota: Questions and Activities

1. Draw a map of the original home of the Lakota and their migratory route onto the Plains.
2. Make a chart of the seven sub-bands of the Lakota.
3. Act out the Oglala story of how one band came to cross the Missouri River and learned to live on the Plains.
4. Discuss the differences between having dogs or horses to pull your belongings. How did this affect Nakota culture, size of tipi, etc?
5. What were the types of Lakota houses?
6. What types of containers did the Lakota use for storage?
7. What were the effects of the horse upon Lakota culture?
8. Describe the cooking and eating utensils of the Lakota.
9. Discuss the governing system of the Lakota and compare it to that of the United States.
10. What is a democratic government?
11. Discuss the ways in which the Lakota are the exemplification of the stereotyped image of the Plains Native Americans.
12. Who had the right to wear war bonnets? Eagle feathers?
13. Discuss the differences between the dress of Lakota men and women and the existence of regional differences among the Lakota themselves.
14. With the help of visual aids, point out the differences and development of Lakota design.
15. How important were war and the hunt to the Lakota?
16. How were Lakota marriages arranged?
17. How did the Lakota bury their dead?
18. Point out on a map the current locations of Lakota bands.

The Dakota, Nakota and Lakota: Discussion

Compare the three divisions together and point out the similarities and differences among them. This can include food, hunting, ceremonies, houses, dress, government, marriage customs, kinship, burials, art, history. One of the most important points to illustrate is the continual flexibility of the Sioux to changing conditions of existance. Sioux culture has been in a flux as long as there is historical evidence and the people have never been less Sioux for the changing. It should also be pointed out that while the

Sioux recognize a basic relationship between the three divisions, there is also a degree of cultural difference between them. Nothing major of course, but it is recognized that some differences do exist. The stereotyped pablum of the Plains Native American is one that can be accepted only within very limited boundaries.

Visual Aids

It is suggested that you get the following series of slides from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City. They are invaluable aids to supplement the text as to style differentiation between the Dakota, Nakota and Lakota divisions. Here is a list of slides by tribe. Those which are not specifically Sioux can be used to demonstrate the styles or objects of other tribes that came to be incorporated or were influential on the development of Sioux dress and artistic expression.

Dakota: 1553, 1643, 1670, 1807, 1825, 1826, 1849, 1853, 1854, 1856, 1861, 1862, 1876, 1882, 1916, 2202, 2203, 2467, 2475, 2476, 2479, 2525, 2605, 2606, 2620, 2624, 2656, 2699, 2720, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2733, 2734, 2740, 2746, 2748, 2749, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2791, 2792, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2824, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2835, 2836, 2839, 2840, 2842, 2843, 2846, 2871, 2877, 2879, 2880, 2892, 2894, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2904, 2910, 2913, 2917, 2920, 2926, 2933, 2965, 2973, 2974, 2976, 3143, 3455, 3479, 3495, 3506, 3773, 3774, 3775.

Sauk-Fox ribbon work: 2665, 2666, 2668, 2669, 2671.

Winnebago: 3454.

Iroquois finger woven sash: 1552, 3499.

Potawatomi: 2216.

Chippewa: 2213, 2321, 1891.

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PART II

LAKOTA DIVISION OF THE SIOUX NATION

INTRODUCTION

The history of the entire Sioux nation would be a gigantic volume since each of the three divisions had different experiences with the advancing Whites. What follows is a short history of the Lakota, a people made famous by their military prowess and prolonged resistance to the Whites. Of the three divisions, they are the best known to the non-Native American and for this reason, this particular division was chosen to present their history.

THE TREATY PERIOD: 1851-1871

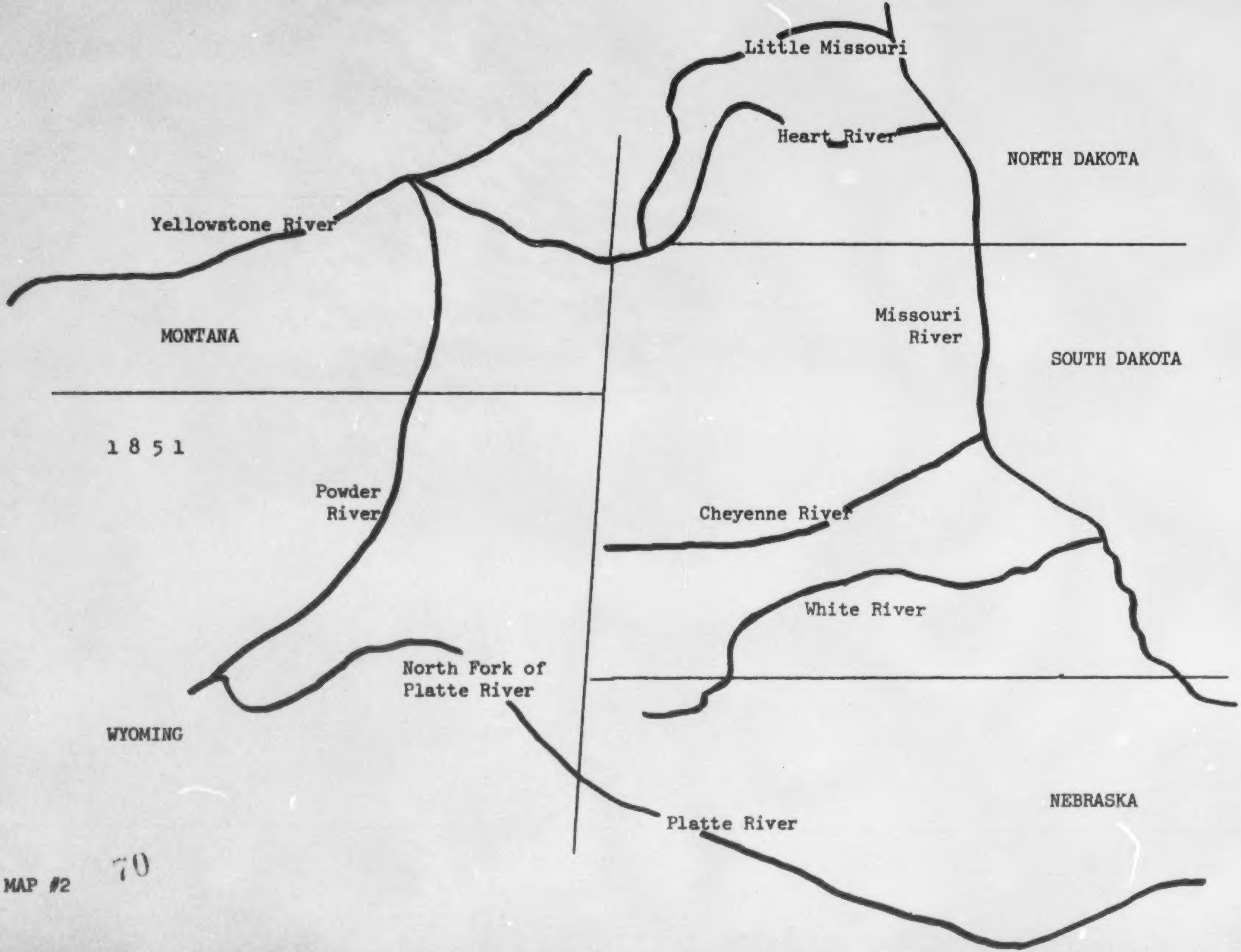
A. Leading up to the Treaty of 1851

The Lakota, the Cheyenne and the Arapaho became alarmed at all the white immigrants moving through their land. The invaders destroyed the buffalo, the grass and the timber. The Native Americans began to raid and destroy these invading wagon trains. Finally, the U.S. Government decided that it would have to provide some protection for the immigrants. So, a string of forts was set up. The main ones in Lakota territory were Fort Kearny in Nebraska and Fort Laramie in Wyoming.

In 1845, Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, accompanied by a large army, met with over 1000 Lakota at Fort Laramie. He told of the love that the Great White Father had for the Native Americans. He told them that he would give them many presents if they would not disturb the whites who were passing through their lands toward the west. The Lakota were so impressed with the colorful blankets, the yards of cloth, the many colored beads, the metal knives, the tobacco and the huge howitzers that they agreed to the words of the Great White Father. But within a year after the agreement, there were so many more whites pushing through the land that the Native Americans began attacking wagon trains again. Also, the Gold Rush to California brought even more whites.

B. The Treaty of 1851

In September, 1851, the tribes of the northern plains assembled at Horse Creek, a twisting stream in the southeast corner of Wyoming. Here the government held a great treaty council with all the tribes south of the Missouri River, east of the Rocky Mountains and north of Texas and New Mexico. Over 8000 Native Americans camped along Horse Creek. Among these were the Lakota, the Cheyenne, the Arapaho, the Crow, the Assiniboin, the Shoshoni, the Hidatsa, the Arikara and the Mandan. Many lifelong enemies were present, for example the Lakota and the Crows, but there was no fighting. The peace council had been called by the whites to put an end to the Native American attacks on the white wagon trains. For nearly twenty days the Native Americans feasted, smoked, visited and argued. Finally the tribes agreed to establish a lasting peace among themselves and to accept the protection of the U.S. Government. They also gave the government the right to establish roads and military posts in the Native American Territory. The land was separated into special areas, and each tribe was to claim a special section for itself. The area set aside for the Lakota began at the mouth of the White River on the Missouri; down in a southwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte River; up the north fork of the Platte River to Red Butte; then along the Black Hills to the headwaters of the Heart River; then down to the mouth of the Heart on the Missouri; finally down the Missouri to the place of beginning at the mouth of the White River. (see map #2)


Little Missouri
Heart River
NORTH DAKOTA
Yellowstone River
Missouri River
MONTANA
SOUTH DAKOTA
1851
Powder River
Cheyenne River
White River
North Fork of Platte River
WYOMING
NEBRASKA
Platte River

MAP #2

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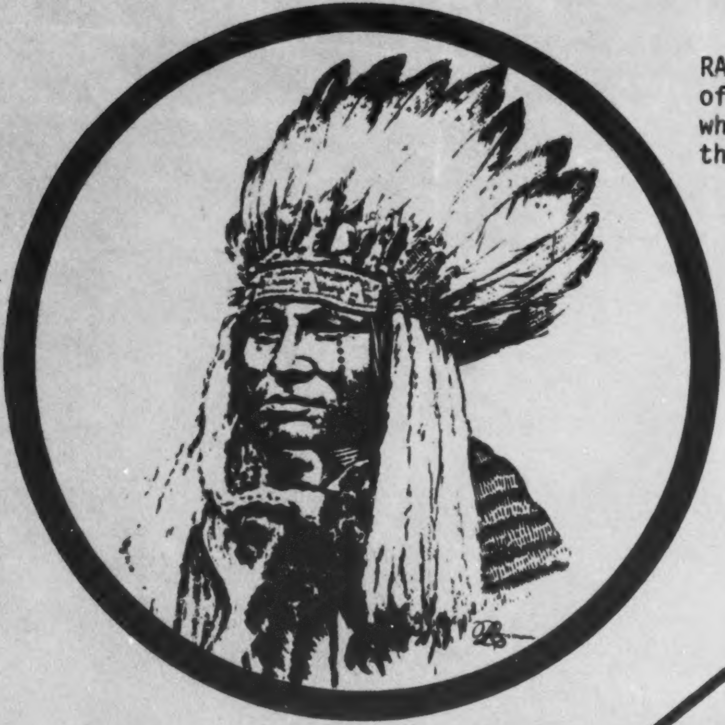
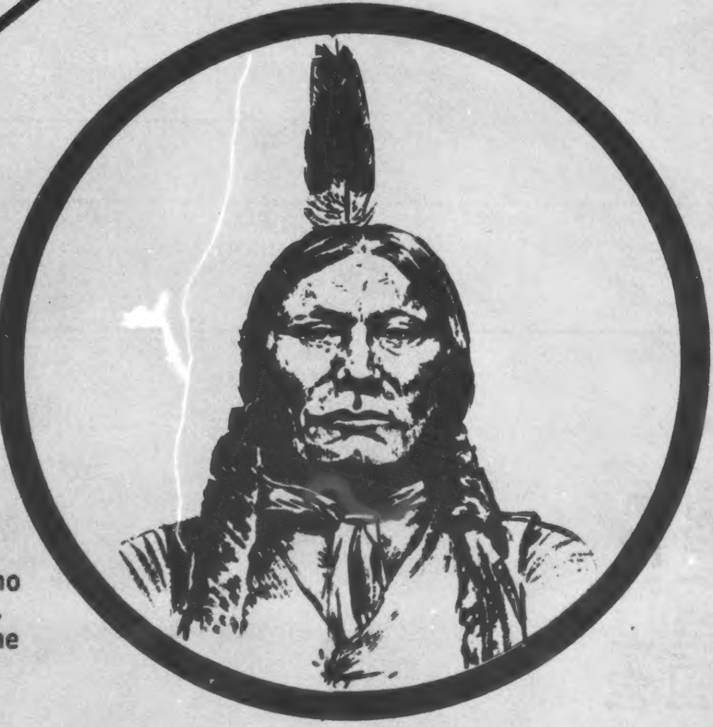
SITTING BULL, Sioux. Leader of the Native American forces which defeated Colonel George Armstrong Custer at the Battle of the LIttle Big Horn.



RAIN IN THE FACE, Sioux. One of the Native American leaders who fought at the Battle of the Little Big Horn.



GALL, Sioux. One of the Native American leaders who defeated Colonel George A. Custer at the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

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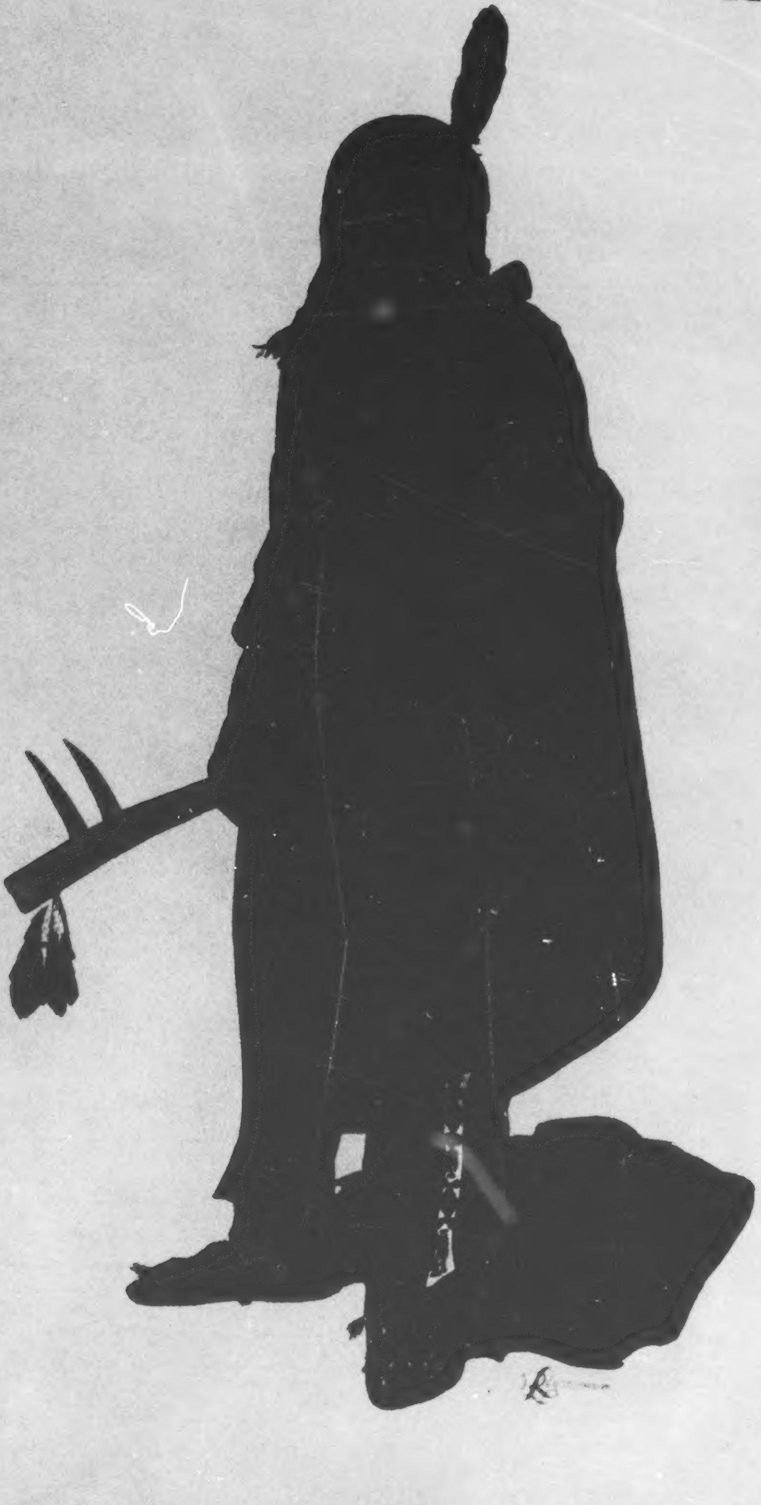

CRAZY HORSE, Sioux. The most important Lakota leader whose death left the Sioux without a leader around which they could rally to fight further white invasion of their land.

COLONEL GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER, graduate of West Point, Commander of the U.S. Army's Seventh Cavalry which was defeated by the Sioux and Cheyene nations at the Battle of the Little Big Horn on July 25, 1876.

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WOVOKA, a member of the Paiute nation of Nevada, founded a new religion which was to bring peace and love to the Native Americans if they danced the sacred Ghost Dance.

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RED CLOUD, Oglala Sioux leader who, through negotiation with the U.S. Government, tried to retain the lands of his nation.

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In return for this, the U.S. Government promised to protect the Native Americans from crimes of the whites and to punish white offenders. In addition, the tribes were to receive an annual payment of $50,000 for fity years. This was not to be paid in cash. Instead, it was to be paid in provisions, merchandise, animals and agricultural tools.

The white commissioners and Father DeSmet, a Jesuit priest and a friend of the Native American, were enthusiastic about the treaty. They thought it was the best agreement for both sides. To celebrate this great occasion, the whites brought out gifts for everyone. The chiefs received beef and bacon, coffee and kettles, thread and cloth, medals and uniforms. There were knives and brass buttons for the young men. It was a wild party for everyone.

But the treaty was bound to fail. All the whites cared about was the right to build roads and forts for white travelers. They didn't realize that the main reason the Native Americans had come to the council was to complain against the white men. Easterners passing through Native American hunting grounds had destroyed buffalo herds, trampled the grass and cut down the trees. They had brought diseases which had killed large numbers of Native Americans. For example, one Mandan group of 1600 people was reduced to only 150 sickly people by smallpox. The biggest mistake was that the white commissioners failed to realize that no plains tribe had one single chief. The whites has insisted on making one man responsible for a tribe. This was foolish and it never worked. A chief's signature on a piece of paper could never be enough to stop wars between lifelong enemies, and it was only natural that the tribes continued warfare between themselves. The white man thought that the chiefs were like the kings of Europe and that the chiefs had absolute power over all the affairs of the people. Because of this, the white men held the chiefs responsible for matters over which they had absolutely no control. The U.S. Government was always looking for chiefs who could be counted upon to enforce the provisions of treaties on all the other members of the tribe. But no chief in any Native American social structure could possibly have such authority. This fact did not bother the government men. They still continued to assume that absolute power was in the hands of the chiefs. Many times the government actually created chiefs who could not have any authority in the Lakota nation. These false chiefs often had to be protected by the U.S. Government from their own people. Yet the government tried to make treaties with the false chiefs binding on all the people.

The whites broke the treaty too. They decided that they would not distribute the $50,000 in goods a year for fifty years, but only for fifteen years. But even so, they never paid the full amount in any one year. The full amount, including animals and agriculatural tools was not paid until 1889.

While the tribal wars were going on again, the reports to Washington insisted that all the points of the treaty were being carried out. Of course the agents didn't tell the truth. As long as they said things were going well, many goods and presents were sent from the government; the agents made a lot of money from them. The tribes told the agents to tell the Great White Father that they didn't want his presents, but the agents didn't do this.

C. Between 1851 and 1868

In 1854, the first first fight between U.S. troops and the Lakota occurred. At a place nine miles east of Fort Laramie, thirty-three U.S. troops were killed by a camp of Oglalas, Brules and Minniconjous in a dispute over a Mormon's cow. This marked the beginning of twenty-five years of bloody fighting.

The Lakota, the Cheyenne and the Arapaho fought against their common enemy, the U.S. troops. During this time, Red Cloud moved to the Powder River Country and attacked any whites who were moving along the trail. He was trying to protect Lakota hunting grounds from white trespassers.

At the end of the Civil War, more and larger numbers of settlers pushed westward to the rich lands of Colorado, the Dakotas and Montana. This land was right in the heart of Lakota territory, for it was between the Platte and the Yellowstone, the Upper Missouri and the Rockies. Throughout this land, the whites boldly set up roads for the immigrants, the telegraph, the stage and freight lines, and finally the railroad. Before 1865, it was the Overland Trail traffic and the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad that aroused the anger of the Lakota. From 1865 to 1868 it was the Bozeman Trail from Fort Fotterman to the Montana mines that caused the trouble. To protect the Bozeman Trail, General Carrington was commissioned to build forts in the Powder River Country. He first set about building Fort Phil Kearny between the two forks of the Pimey Creek, a branch of the Powder River. From the very beginning, he had no peace from the Lakota, especially Red Cloud and his Oglalas. Any soldier who went more than a few paces from camp was found dead. The Lakota ran off many horses and burned many wagon trains. Before the end of one year, 150 people had been killed in or near the new fort. Finally this fort and two others, Fort Reno and Fort C.F. Smith, were completed. Yet even with these three forts, it was impossible for a wagon train to get through the trail safely without a large armed escort. (See map #3-6 for locations of Red Cloud's country, forts, wagon trails and railroads)

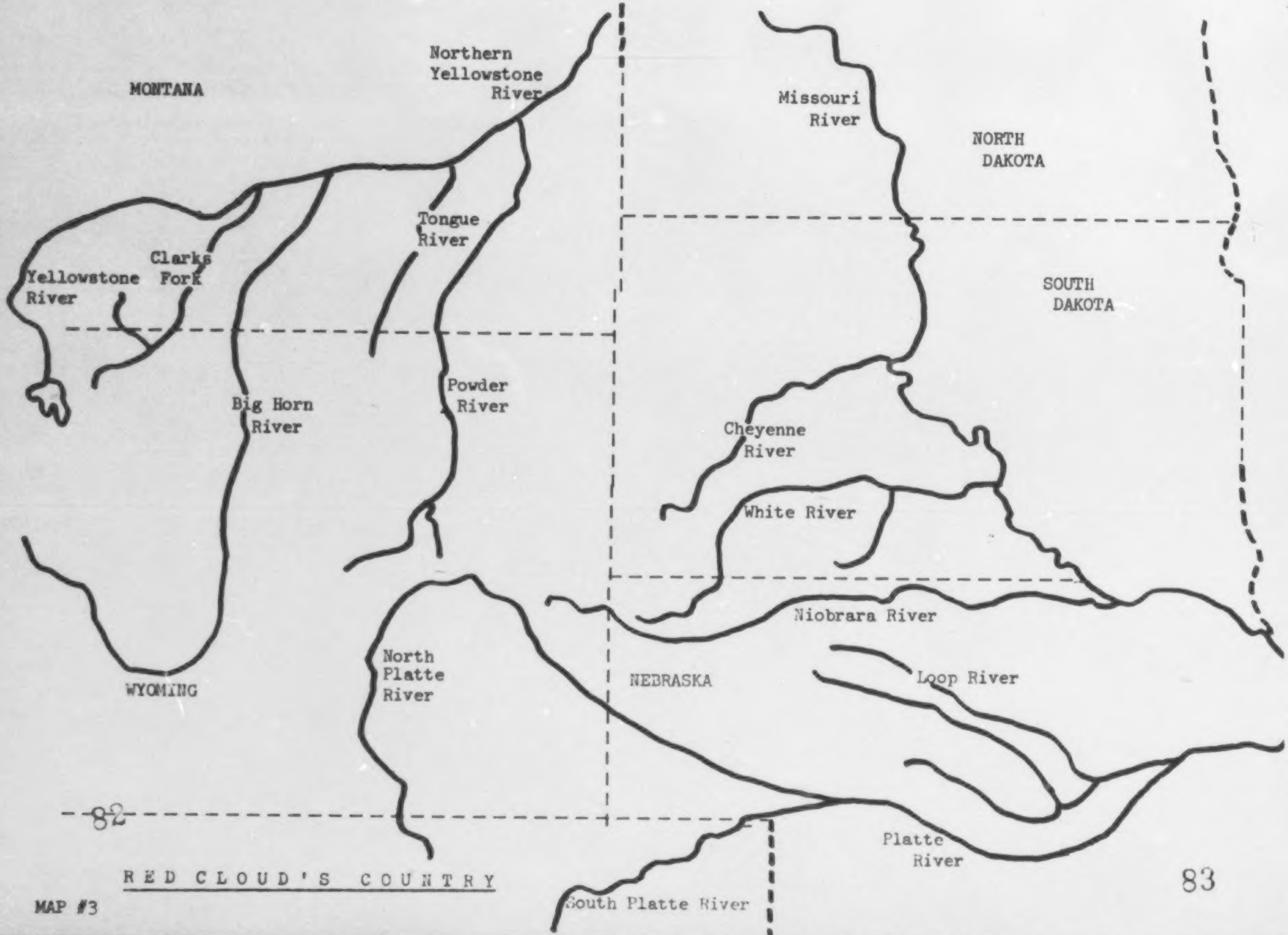
In December 1866, a wood cutting party from Fort Phil Kearny was attacked by a party of Native Americans. Captain Fetterman came to the rescue with a group of soldiers from the fort. Some Native American decoys kept tempting him to chase them. He kept refusing. Then finally he gave in, and took after them. Then the trap was sprung and 2000 of Red Cloud's warriors rushed in for the kill. After an hour, Fetterman and his eighty men were all dead.

D. The Treaty of 1868

Congress saw that the Native Americans were united under Red Cloud and would continue to resist the white invaders. The only way to protect the whites in the area was to call another peace council.

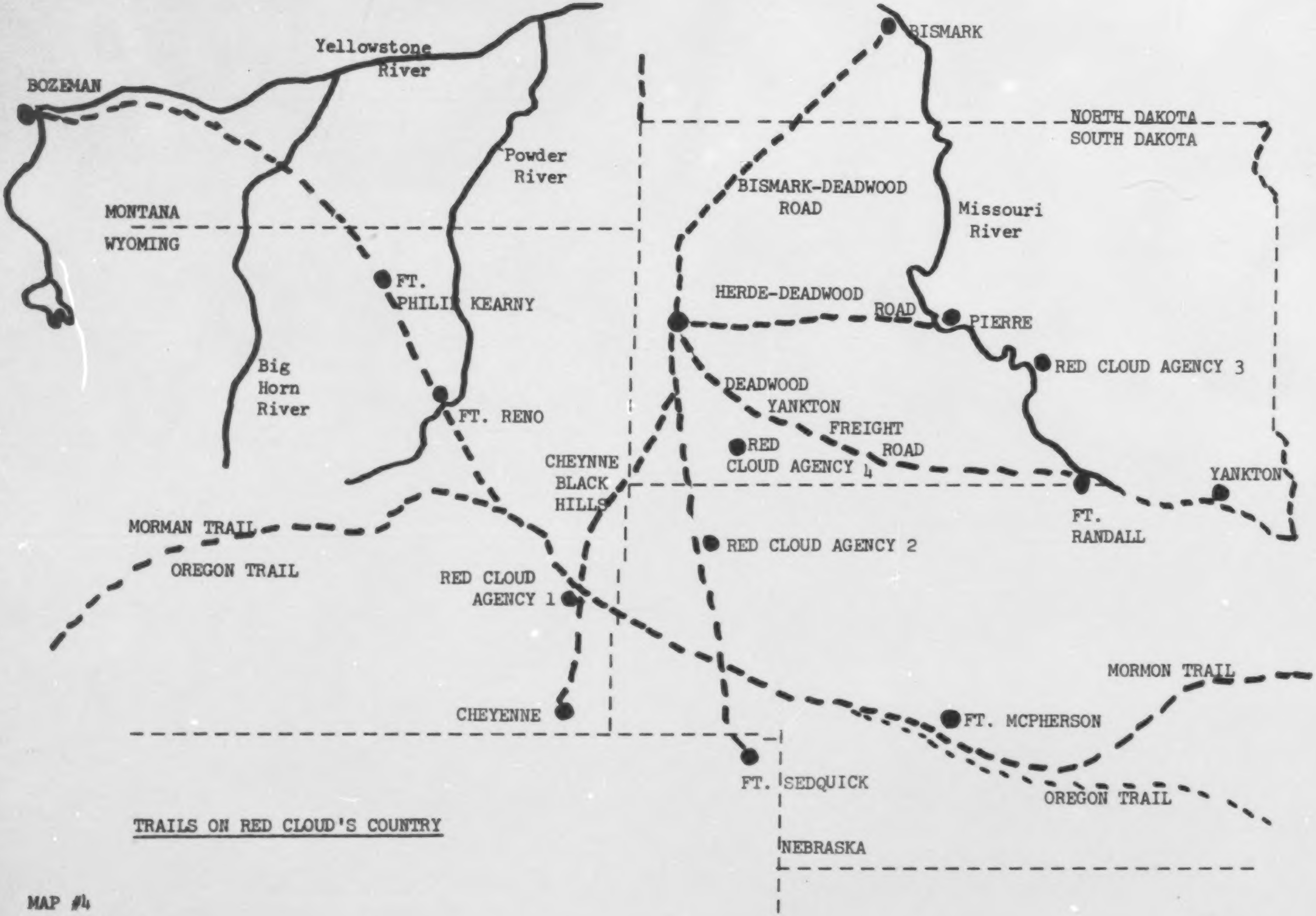
The treaty which the U.S. Government drew up seemed like a surrender to the demands of Red Cloud. It looked like his two year's war had been successful. The government agreed to abandon the Powder River Trail from Fort Laramie to Bozeman, Montana. They would also abandon the three forts along this trail. The U.S. Government would pay for the lands they had taken from the Native Americans. The treaty set aside a new and large tract of land for the exclusive use of the Lakota. It was from the Missouri River on the east to the Big Horns on the west; from the northern boundary of Nebraska on the south to the 46th parallel on the north. (See map #7) It also gave them the right to hunt on any lands north of the North Platte River and the Republican River. Rations would be provided for thirty years. It also said that the Powder River and Big Horn Countries should be unceded Native American hunting territory, forbidden to whites. In return, the Lakota merely had to agree to settle on this land. It was called the Great Sioux Reservation.

After Congress drew up the treaty, it sent a Peace Commission to Fort Laramie. Here they waited for Red Cloud to come and talk, because any treaty without Red Cloud's signature was worthless. He was the leader of the war against the whites in this territory. The Peace Commission waited, and waited, and waited. Red Cloud didn't show up. Finally they got frustrated


MONTANA
Northern Yellowstone River
Missouri River
NORTH DAKOTA
Tongue River
Clarks Fork
Yellowstone River
SOUTH DAKOTA
Powder River
Big Horn River
Cheyenne River
White River
Niobrara River
WYOMING
North Platte River
NEBRASKA
Loop River
Platte River
South Platte River

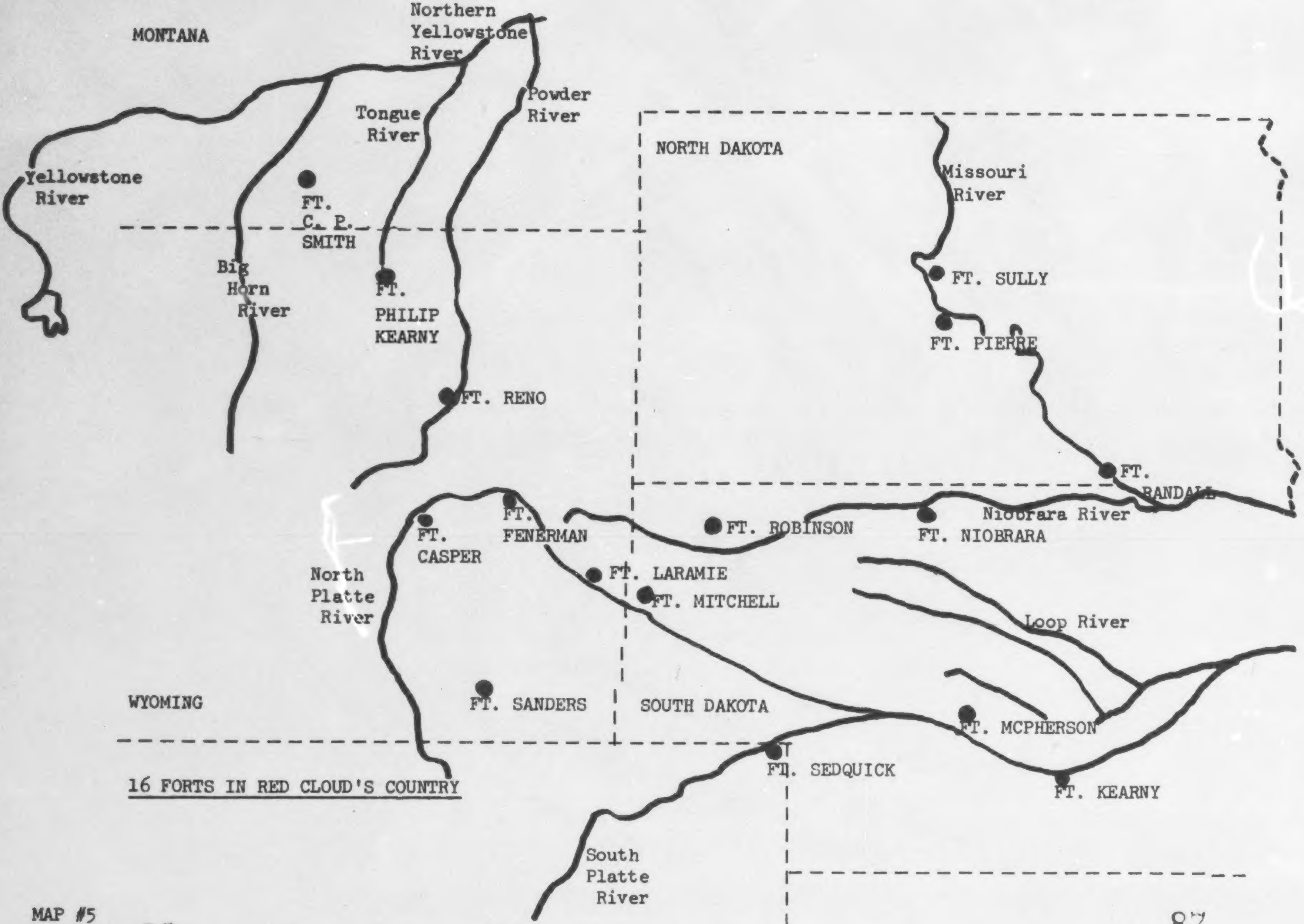
RED CLOUD'S COUNTRY

MAP #3


BOZEMAN
Yellowstone River
Powder River
MONTANA
WYOMING
Big Horn River
FT. PHILIP KEARNY
FT. RENO
BISMARK
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
BISMARK-DEADWOOD ROAD
Missouri River
HERDE-DEADWOOD ROAD
PIERRE
RED CLOUD AGENCY 3
DEADWOOD YANKTON FREIGHT ROAD
RED CLOUD AGENCY 4
CHEYNNE BLACK HILLS
YANKTON
FT. RANDALL
MORMAN TRAIL
OREGON TRAIL
RED CLOUD AGENCY 2
RED CLOUD AGENCY 1
CHEYENNE
MORMON TRAIL
FT. MCPHERSON
FT. SEDQUICK
OREGON TRAIL
NEBRASKA

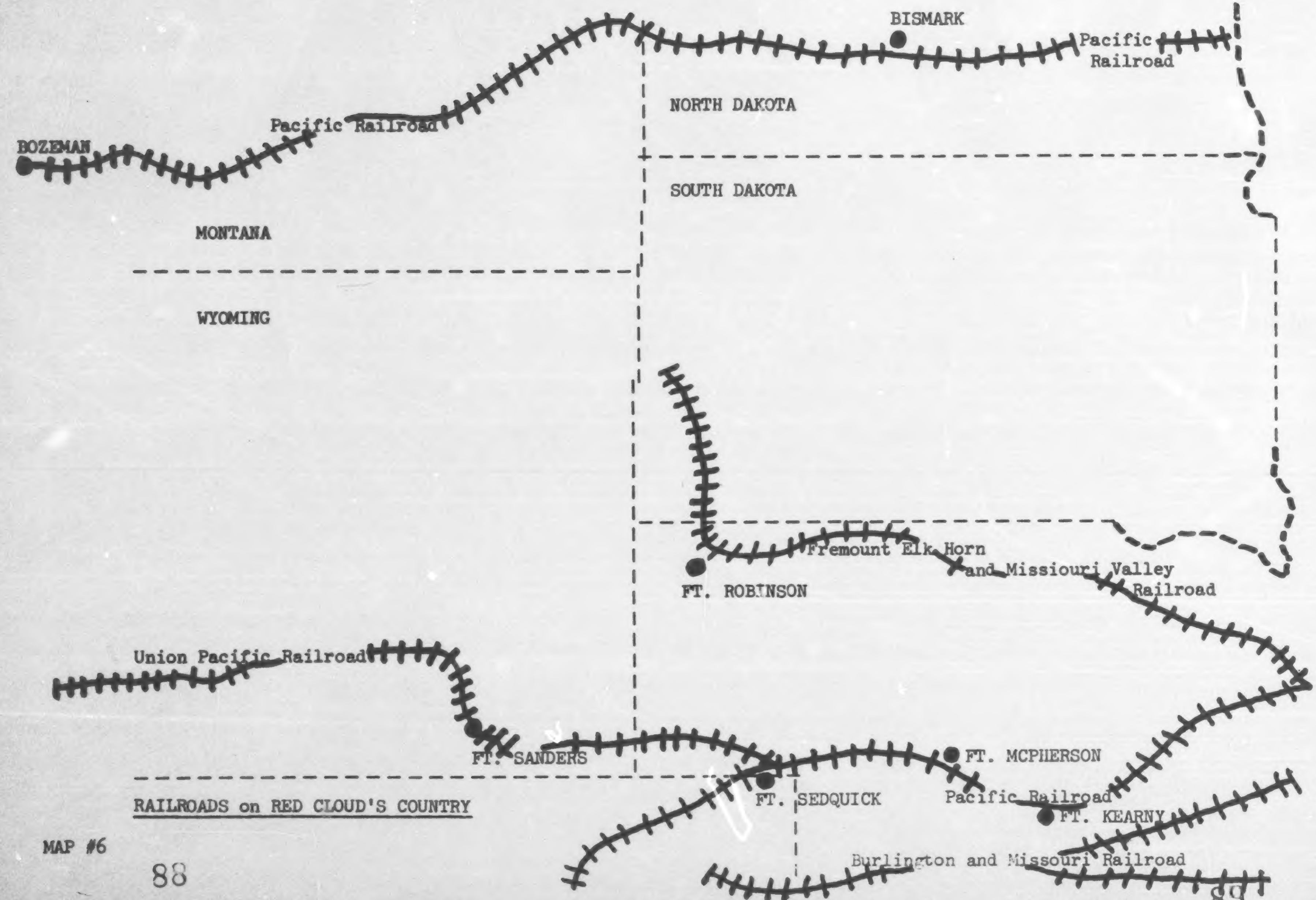
TRAILS ON RED CLOUD'S COUNTRY

MAP #4


MONTANA
Northern Yellowstone River
Powder River
Tongue River
Yellowstone River
FT. C. P. SMITH
Big Horn River
FT. PHILIP KEARNY
FT. RENO
NORTH DAKOTA
Missouri River
FT. SULLY
FT. PIERRE
FT. RANDALL
Niobrara River
FT. NIOBRARA
FT. ROBINSON
FT. CASPER
FT. FENERMAN
North Platte River
FT. LARAMIE
FT. MITCHELL
Loop River
WYOMING
FT. SANDERS
SOUTH DAKOTA
FT. MCPHERSON
FT. SEDQUICK
FT. KEARNY
South Platte River

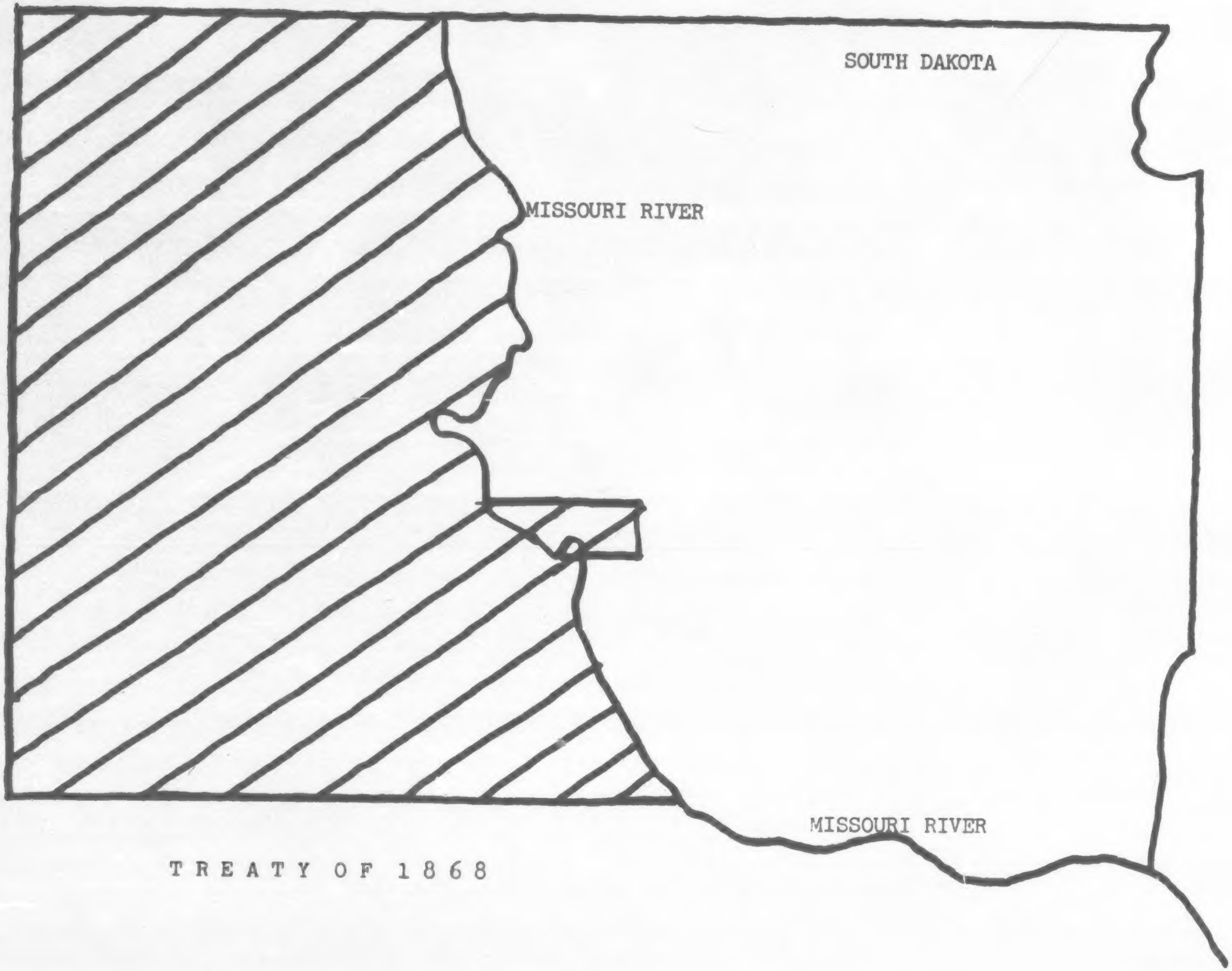
16 FORTS IN RED CLOUD'S COUNTRY

MAP #5


BOZEMAN
Pacific Railroad
MONTANA
WYOMING
BISMARK
Pacific Railroad
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
FT. ROBINSON
Fremount Elk Horn and Missiouri Valley Railroad
Union Pacific Railroad
FT. SANDERS
FT. SEDQUICK
FT. MCPHERSON
Pacific Railroad
FT. KEARNY
Burlington and Missouri Railroad

RAILROADS on RED CLOUD'S COUNTRY

MAP #6


SOUTH DAKOTA
MISSOURI RIVER
MISSOURI RIVER

TREATY OF 1868

MAP #7

and went further up the Missouri to talk with other tribes. The man whom the Commission left in charge of the treaty was a professional fisherman and an interpreter. He gave out guns and ammunition to all those who would come in and sign the treaty. Soon many Lakota came in. They signed and received their weapons. Spotted Tail and many of the Brules signed the treaty. So did the Crows, the Northern Cheyenne and the Arapahos. But Red Cloud and Young Man Afraid of His Horses were not very eager to talk with the Great White Father again. Red Cloud said he would not sign until all the forts in the Powder River Country had actually been abandoned. As long as the forts were manned, Red Cloud would not move. So finally the government ordered that the forts be abandoned. On July 29, 1868, the troops left Fort C.F. Smith. The next morning, Red Cloud and his warriors swept down and burned the fort to the ground. The same happened to the other two forts.

Red Cloud still was in no great hurry to meet with the Great White Father's representatives. He decided that he would first get his winter's meat ready. Near the end of October, Red Cloud decided that he would go to Fort Laramie to see what the representatives of the Great White Father had to say.

He arrived at Fort Laramie with over 100 important chiefs and headmen, including Young Man Afraid of His Horses. Immediately, Red Cloud demanded that the treaty be explained carefully to him. One of the main purposes of the treaty had been to keep the Lakota away from Fort Laramie and on the Great Sioux Reservation. The Reservation was under the jurisdiction of the army under the authority of General Harroy who was stationed at Fort Randall, far away on the Upper Missouri. When the treaty came to the point about the Reservation and its use as farming land, Red Cloud declared that the Lakota had no intention of becoming farmers. Then he insisted that the Lakota had no intention of going to General Harroy to receive their rations. They disliked that man very much. Red Cloud insisted that the only reason he had come to Fort Laramie was to obtain powder and lead in order to continue the war against the Crows. Finally, but very reluctantly, he signed the treaty. And after the signing, he made a short speech. He declared again that the Lakota would not abandon their rich hunting lands for the farming lands of the Reservation.

E. After the Signing of the Treaty of 1868

What seemed like a victory for the Lakota was not really a victory. The whites really didn't need the Bozeman Trail. With the completion of the railroad, it would be possible to break a new road to Montana from a place further west of Fort Laramie. This was just the first major effort to civilize the Lakota, for a boundary was drawn up around them, and they were forced out of the plains of Kansas and Nebraska. As food, game and arms became scarce, they were forced to go to the agencies along the Missouri in order to survive. They were beginning to become dependent on the government. The treaty also provided that they would be trained and educated in the white man's ways. So the settling of the Lakota in one place, on the Great Sioux Reservation, was the first step taken to make the Native American like the white man and to take his land from him.

After the treaty had been signed, the Lakota realized that they had been cheated. When they signed, they had not realized that they could no longer trade nor hunt along the Platte River. In addition to this, the U.S. Government never paid in full the provisions and services that had been promised to the Lakota in the treaty.

None of the Lakota who lived in the Powder River Country, or along the Platte or Niobrara Rivers were eager to be on a Reservation. Other people also objected to the Lakota going to the Great Reservation, but for different reasons. The whites in Dakota were already protesting and raising a fuss. They knew that the Great Reservation was rich country, especially the Black Hills, where gold had been reported. The people in Wyoming were also protesting. They knew that the lands in the valleys of the Wind River, the Sweetwater River and the Big Horn River were rich. Pressure and complaints from these land hungry whites worried the U.S. Government. If the greedy whites forced the government to break this treaty, the Sioux would never again believe a single word the U.S. Government would say.

But Red Cloud got the government out of trouble by asking for a council with the Great White Father. He wanted to talk about the Great Sioux Reservation. So Red Cloud and a small party of Lakota went to Washington to talk with the President of the United States, General Grant. The government officials tried to impress Red Cloud with the might and splendor of the Great White Father. They showed him the wonders of Washington, the might of the army and the navy and the luxury of the White House. But Red Cloud was not impressed at all. Then the government officials tried to threaten and scare him. In doing this, they hoped to make him forget about his demands. But this did not stop him. He kept on making his demands. He demanded that there be no roads through his country, the removal of Fort Fetterman and the right to trade at Fort Laramie. He insisted that he had never known the content of the Treaty of 1868. If he had known what was in there, he never would have signed it. Here is part of the great speech that he made:

> The Great Spirit has received me naked and my Great Father I have not fought against him. I have offered my prayers to the Great Spirit so I could come here safely. Look at me. I was a warrior on this land where the sun rises, now

> I come from where the sun sets. Whose voice was first sounded on this land--the red people with bows and arrows. The Great Father says he is good and kind to us. I can't see it. I am good to his white people. From the word sent me I have come all the way to this house. My face is red, yours is white. The Great Spirit taught you to read and write but not me. I have not learned. I came here to tell my Great Father what I do not like in my country....
>
> ...The white children have surrounded me and have left me nothing but an island. When we first had this land, we were strong, now we are melting like snow on the hillside while you are growing like spring grass....
>
> ...Tell the Great Father to move Fort Fetterman away and we will have no more troubles. I have two mountains in that country (Black Hills and Big Horn Mountains). I want the Great Father to make no roads through. I have told these things three times now. I have come here to tell them the fourth time.

In the end, Red Cloud was able to obtain only a few of his demands from Grant. The Lakota would not have to go to the Great Sioux Reservation to get their food and other rations. They would be able to live near the headwaters of the Big Cheyenne River, northeast of Fort Fetterman. Red Cloud was not satisfied and he was enraged. But there was little then he could do. Some people who called themselves the Indian Friends were also alarmed. It was their idea to create support for Red Cloud among the common people of the United States. In this way they would be able to force the hand of the government. So Red Cloud went to New York and made a very famous speech:

> We came to Washington to see our Great Father that peace might be continued. The Great Spirit, that made us both, wishes peace to be kept; we want to keep peace. Will you help us? ...All I want is right and just. I have not altogether succeeded. I represent the whole Sioux nation, and they will be bound by what I say. ...Look at me. I am poor and naked, but I am the Chief of the nation. We do not want riches, but we want to train our children right. Riches would do us no good. The riches that we have in this world, Secretary Cox said truly, we cannot take with us to the next world. Then I wish to know why Commissioners are sent out to us who do nothing but rob us and get the riches of this world away from us?

After Red Cloud spoke, Red Dog made a short speech:

> When the Great Father first sent out men to our people, I was poor and thin; now I am larger and fat. This is because so many liars have been sent out there and I have been stuffed full with their lies.

After that, Red Cloud returned to Fort Laramie. Then the Lakota held a Sun Dance and drove the Crows from the mountains. During the next year, Red Cloud went around the country explaining the true meaning of the treaty to all the chiefs.

In 1871 a very important decision was made by the Congress of the United States. Congress declared that it would no longer make any treaties with Native American tribes. It would only make acts and agreements. One of the Treaty of 1868 was that every future act had to be approved by three-fourths of the adult males. Now that there would be no future treaties made, it would be possible to make laws for the Native American people without the approval of three-fourths of the adult males.

THE RESERVATION PERIOD: 1871-1889

A. Buildup to the Treaty of 1876

The government continued to annoy the Lakota by trying to make them into farmers. In the fall of 1872, Agent Daniels moved the Red Cloud Agnecy from the Platte to the White River. He reported that no better farming land could be found anywhere on the reservation. He said that water and wood were abundant. Good farming land was in the creek valleys. There was good pasture land on both sides of the White River. But this land was actually very poor. It was often hit by drought and by grasshoppers. In May, 1874, the Oglala band held a council and finally decided that anyone who attempted farming would be protected. Up to that time, young warriors had threatened to harm or murder any Oglala man who dared to pick up an agricultural tool. So a few women planned their little gardens and cared for them carefully. They watched eagerly as they grew. But the drought and the grasshoppers swept away all their hopes.

Another thing besides farming annoyed the Lakota and also some Santee Sioux. This was the Gold Rush of 1874-1875 to the Black Hills. Custer and his men violated the Treaty of 1868 and explored the Black Hills for gold. He had found gold and wrote reports about his discovery. The miners reported that they found gold among the roots of the grass, and from that point to the lowest point reached, gold was found in paying quantities. It did not require an expert to find gold in the Black Hills, as men without former experience in mining discovered it at an expense of but little time or labor. These reports turned many people's eyes towards the Black Hills of Western South Dakota. The newspapers were filled with stories about prospecting parties leaving for this rich land. The U.S. Army did little to keep these money hungry men out of the forbidden Great Sioux Reservation. The Indian Bureau was attacked on one side by the Sioux who demanded that the Bureau keep out the white prospectors. It was attacked on the other side by the prospectors demanding that they keep the Sioux from bothering them.

By 1875 the U.S. Government had decided that the Black Hills would have to be taken from the Sioux by some means or another. At the same time, Red Cloud and Spotted Tail were asked to come to Washington. The officials thought that this would be a good opportunity to start bargaining for the Black Hills. Meanwhile, General George Crook visited the area of the Hills. To satisfy the Lakota he ordered over 1200 miners to leave the area, but then he did nothing to enforce the order.

B. The Treaty Council of 1875

The U.S. Government established a Commission to attempt to get the Black Hills away from the Sioux. They were told to get the Sioux land between the North and South Forks of the Big Cheyenne River. This was the Black Hills Country. They were also told to try to get the Lakota to give up their rights to the Big Horn Mountain in Wyoming.

This treaty council was doomed to fail from the beginning. It was a very long time before they could even decide where to hold the council meetings. Spotted Tail wanted to hold it at Chadron Creek. Red Cloud wanted to hold it as his agency. After a committee of chiefs could not agree on anything, the Commission itself decided on a spot. It was on the banks of the White River about eight miles from the Red Cloud Agency. This spot pleased no one.

In the beginning, the Commission had decided to bargain just for the mining rights and not for the land itself. They said that after the gold and other ore was mined, the land would be returned to the Lakota for their use. The Sioux would be offered a fair price for the mining rights to their land. The committee offered to purchase the land east of the Big Horn because the white people wanted it and the Native Americans didn't seem to want it.

Red Cloud did not come to the council meetings. Instead he remained nearby at his agency and did much to delay the progress of the council. Spotted Tail came to the meetings and smelled a trick. He knew that once the whites were in control of the land, they would never leave.

The Sioux were not of one mind about the question of the Black Hills. Some were unwilling to sell at any price. Others were willing to sell if the price was right. The right price, some insisted, was between 30 and

50 million dollars. Others said they wanted 70 million dollars.

While the arguing was going on, Red Cloud announced that he would sell if the Commission met his terms. His terms were that the Commission would have to give the Sioux enough money so that when they invested the money, the interest alone would be enough to provide every Sioux with enough money to live as comfortably as the whites.

This is what Red Cloud said:

> There have been six nations raised, and I am the seventh, and I want seven generations ahead to be fed. ...These hills out here to the northwest we look upon as the head chief of the land. My intention was that my children should depend on these hills for the future. I hoped that we should live that way always hereafter. That was my intention. I sit here under the treaty which was to extend for thirty years. I want to put the money that we get for the Black Hills at interest among the whites, to buy wagons and cattle. We have much small game yet that we can depend on for the future, only I want the Great Father to buy guns and ammunition with the interest so we can shoot the game. For seven generations to come I want our Great Father to give us Texas steers for our meat. I want the government to issue for me hereafter, flour and coffee, and sugar and tea, and bacon, the very best kind, and cracked corn and beans, and rice and dried apples, and saleratus and tobacco, and soap and salt, and pepper, for the old people. I want a wagon, a light wagon with a span of horses, and six yoke of working cattle for my people. I want a sow and a boar, and a cow and bull, and a sheep and a ram, and a hen and a cock, for each family. I am an Indian, but you try to make a white man out of me. I want some white man's houses at this agency to be built for the Indians. I have been into white people's houses, and I have seen nice black bedsteads and chairs, and I want that kind of furniture given to my people. ...I want the Great Father to furnish me a saw mill which I may call my own. I want a mower and a scythe for my people. Maybe you white people think that I ask too much from the government, but I think those hills extend clear to the sky--maybe they go above the sky, and that is the reason I ask for so much....

The Commissioners were surprised that the Lakota would ask for so much money. They couldn't meet their demands. Instead they announced the government plans. The Sioux could lease their mining rights to the U.S. Government.

For this they would receive $400,000 a year as long as the lease would run. Or they could sell the Black Hills to the U.S. Government for six million dollars. Of course these prices were not good enough for the Lakota. So the Commission went back to Washington without having accomplished anything. The Black Hills were still in the hands of the Sioux.

The treaty commission failed because it failed to offer an adequate price for the Black Hills, and the Lakota knew it. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs had strongly recommended that the Sioux be paid a fair price for the Black Hills, but the Secretary of the Interior wanted to force the Sioux to accept the government offer. He wanted to starve them by refusing to give them rations. These rations were coming to the Lakota through the Treaty of 1868 and rightfully belonged to them regardless of what happened. President Grant didn't care what was done as long as something was done quickly. He said that the situation was very embarrassing for the U.S. Government. So it was obvious in Washington that something would soon have to be done to solve the problem.

Meanwhile there was a steady flow of white citizens into the Black Hills. Camps grew into towns, and towns grew into young cities. The army stopped all military action against the white trespassers. The roads from the south and the west were guarded by the military, but not against the white trespassers. They were guarded against the owners of the Black Hills, the Sioux.

C. The Wars of 1876

During the last months of 1875, the Black Hills problem occupied the attention of the U.S. Government. During 1875, reports had definitely established the fact that the Black Hills area was immensely valuable for its mineral, its timber, its farming and grazing lands. The Hills were occupied by thousands of white people, and no effort was being made to get rid of them. The treaty commission had failed to produce any agreement with the Sioux, and the Secretary of the Interior had suggested that if the rations were cut, the Lakota might be forced to sell their interests in the Black Hills to get enough money to live. This was because there had been a terrible drought during the year of 1875, and the buffalo herds were diminishing.

Then in December, 1875, the U.S. Government decided to transfer the jurisdiction of the Sioux people from the Interior Department to the War Department. The War Department had always insisted that there was only one way to handle Indians. The only way was to overpower them with superior force.

During the winter of 1875-1876, many Native Americans from different agencies had gone out with the consent of their agents to hunt buffalo in the unceded territory of the Powder River. Under the Treaty of 1868, they had the right to do this. And there was even more reason for them to do it now, because there had been a drought, and the provisions at the agencies were low. These Native Americans were told to return to their agencies before January 1, 1876, or they would be declared "hostile." They answered that they were engaged in hunting buffalo, and that it was impossible for them to return then because of the terrible winter storms. They promised that they would return in the spring. Then on February 1, 1876, the secretary of the Interior turned these Native Americans over to the military authorities and pronounced them "hostile." And immediately the army took action.

General Philip Sheridan took command of the operation that was going to round up all the Native Americans in the Powder River Country. He hoped to move against them in the winter and have the campaign all finished by the time spring rolled around. He planned three different attacks. One group was to move eastward from Montana. Another was to move westward from Fort Abraham Lincoln in North Dakota. A third was to go northward from Fort Fetterman.

A military expedition under General George Crook (Three Stars) moved into Powder River Country and destroyed a village of Northern Cheyenne and Oglalas. But the rest of the winter operation was a total failure. During the summer, the Native Americans soundly defeated the army twice. Once in the valley of the Rosebud. Another time was in the famous battle of the Little Big Horn. But the U.S. Army was well equipped with many men and good supplies. They were able to keep the Native Americans on the run during the fall and the winter. Finally they brought them all back to the reservation as starving captives. A few managed to escape either to Canada or Mexico.

D. The Ultimatum of 1876

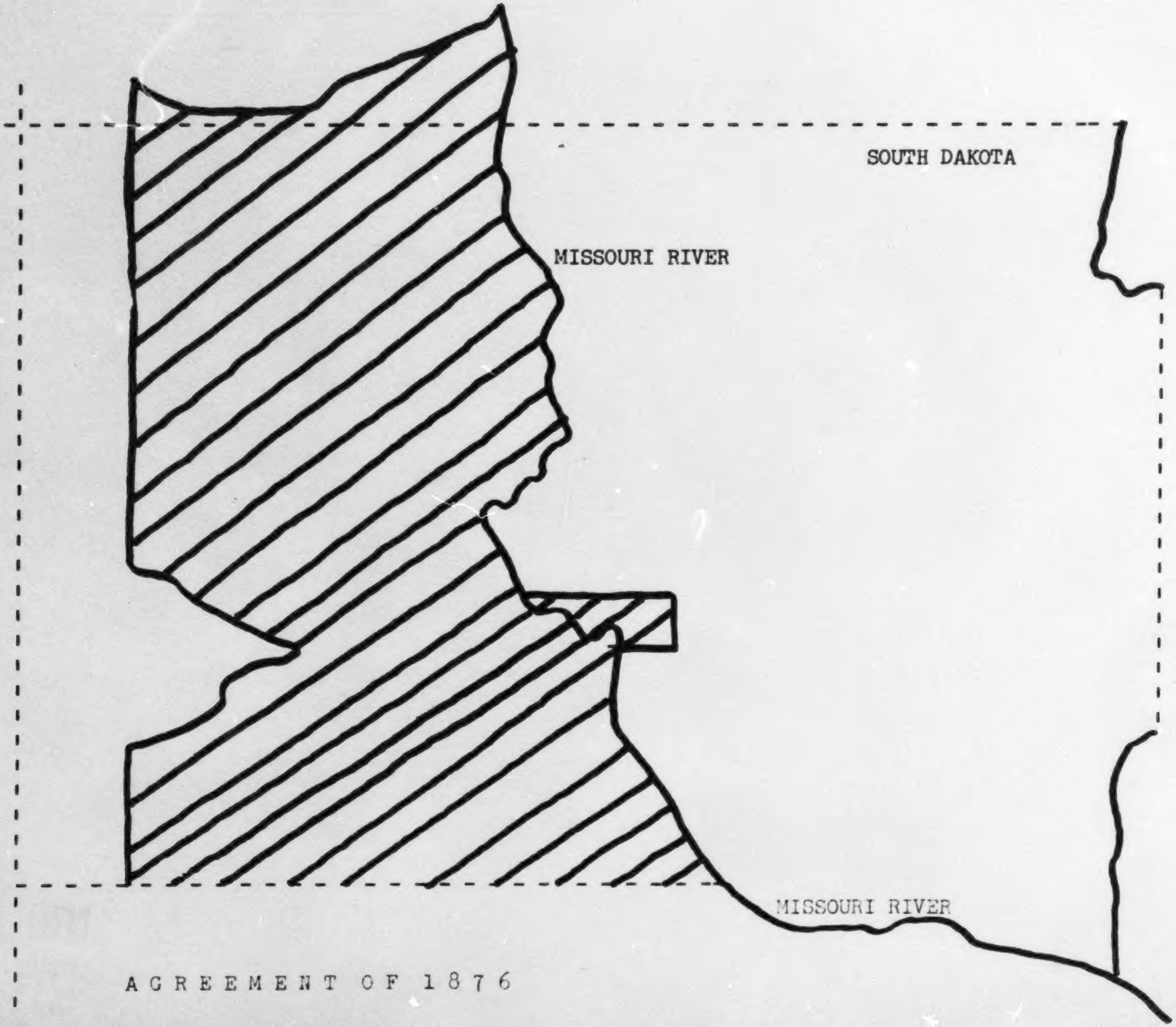
Public demand for the taking of the Black Hills from the Sioux reached its climax in 1876. It was quite plain that either the U.S. Government would have to run the white trespassers out of the Hills, or they would have to get the ownership of the Hills from the Native American owners.

Crazy Horse brought his people to the reservation, and Red Cloud came in with him. The Oglalas were well received with food and a big celebration. They quietly gave up their guns and horses.

On June 5, 1876, violent argument was going on between the Army and the Indian Bureau about whether or not most of the Native Americans were hostile. On this very day Custer and his entire command were wiped out at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. The army was completely embarrassed and didn't know quite what to do. But the Custer battle fired up Congress and they decided that they would no longer bargain with the Sioux. So on August 15, 1876, Congress passed the Sioux Appropriation Bill. It was called an agreement, but it really was a demand for unconditional surrender. The Sioux would lose their land, their horses, their way of life. They would have to live either on the Missouri or in Indian Territory (Oklahoma). They would receive no more rations or help of any kind until they gave up the Black Hills and everything west of them. After they signed the people would receive rations and other supplies only at certain spots along the Missouri River. (See map #8 for land left after the agreement of 1876)

Many of the chiefs felt they had little choice but to sign. If they refused to sign, they would find themselves in serious trouble. They would be starved until they surrendered and a whole army would be sent against them. So they signed the surrender after only two days of talking. Normally it would have taken at least a month to reach any decision. Yet 90% of the Native Americans refused to sign the agreement. This was the best the government could do under the circumstances.

This agreement violated the Treaty of 1868. The Treaty of 1868 said that three fourths of the adult male Native Americans would have to sign any document before it would go into effect. But Congress was in no mood to worry about a small legal point. The Battle of the Little Big Horn had


SOUTH DAKOTA
MISSOURI RIVER
MISSOURI RIVER

MAP #8

AGREEMENT OF 1876

so embarrassed them that all they wanted was the unconditional surrender of the Sioux.

To many of the Sioux, this is what the government seemed to be saying: "Here are the beef, flour, the blankets for your lands between the forks of the Platte River which we took in 1851. Here are the same beef, flour and blankets for your lands in Nebraska which we took in 1868. And here are the same beef, flour and blankets for the Black Hills, the Powder River Country and the Big Horn Country which we are taking from you now."

E. Capturing Crazy Horse

The army had little faith in the treaty and General Crook quickly began the job of rounding up the hostiles. First he took the horses and guns away from the Lakota in Nebraska. Then he tried to make Spotted Tail the Chief of all the Lakota. But this didn't last for long, and soon Red Cloud was once again the Chief of all the Lakota. Then the army defeated Sitting Bull's band and destroyed a Cheyenne village. Finally they set out after Crazy Horse and his people. Crazy Horse led Crook on a merry chase throughout the Powder River Country. In the end Crook became very discouraged and gave up the chase. General Miles had a few skirmishes with Crazy Horse's bands, but neither side won a battle.

Finally Crook decided on a gamble. He sent word to Crazy Horse that if he would bring his people to the reservation to live, they could expect generous treatment. Few Tails and Hunts the Enemy (George Sword) brought the message to Crazy Horse. They reported that Crazy Horse would come back. Spotted Tail went to the Little Powder River and was told by Crazy Horse that he would come in at the end of winter. After Spotted Tail returned, then Red Cloud set out with goods and supplies to try to get Crazy Horse back earlier.

The peace and quiet did not last long at Red Cloud Agency. It soon became obvious that Crazy Horse was the most glamorous figure at the Agency. He was very popular among the young warriors and received special treatment by the agents. This caused jealousy among the elder chiefs, especially Red Cloud and Spotted Tail.

When Crazy Horse heard that Crook was enlisting Native American scouts for a campaign, he thought it was time to bring Sitting Bull back from Canada. Crazy Horse was alarmed and demanded that the scouts stay on the reservation. Otherwise he would take his people and head north. Actually Crook was enlisting scouts for an expedition against the Nez Perce, who were already at war against the U.S. forces.

Crook heard about the trouble and came quickly to Fort Robinson. He ordered that Crazy Horse be arrested. The police went quickly to his camp but he was gone. He had been given permission for a buffalo hunt and had gone to Spotted Tail's Agency. Shortly afterwards they arrested him at Spotted Tail's Agency and brought him back to Fort Robinson. As they were about to put him into the guard house, he drew a knife. In the scuffle that followed, he was stabbed. It is difficult to say who stabbed him. Some say it was a Native American policeman. Others say it was a white soldier. Still others say he accidentally stabbed himself.

With the murder of Crazy Horse, the Lakota ended their armed resistance to the invasion of the white man. They had fought bravely and had never been defeated. Any fight with U.S. troops ended either in a draw or the Lakota won. Now in 1877, they were without guns, horses and a military leader.

F. The Act of 1877

On February 18, 1877, the Congress passed the Act of 1877. This Act contained the articles of the Agreement of 1876. The Treaty Commission told the U.S. Government that the Sioux had agreed to the articles, but in truth the Sioux had never seen them, and the few signatures that had been obtained were gotten through bribery, liquor and violent threats. By this Act, Congress declared that the U.S. Government had the right to take the property of the Sioux Native Americans away from them.

THE ALLOTMENT PERIOD: 1889-1934

A. The Buildup to the Allotment Act

For a number of years, Red Cloud of the Oglala Division and Young Man Afraid of His Horses of the Payabya Division had led rival groups. There was a large amount of disagreement between these two. But in the summer of 1887 these two great leaders ended their arguments. The people were united once again. This unity and spirit of working together was necessary for the people because once again the land hungry farmers were determined to move into the Great Sioux Reservation. They wanted to unite the eastern and western parts of South Dakota by taking over half of the reservation from the Lakota. Once the farmers had this land, Dakota Territory could become the two states of North and South Dakota.

Many honest Senators and Congressmen did not think that the 25,000 Lakota in South Dakota could hold out against 500,000 land hungry whites. Senator Dawes believed that unless the Lakota gave part of their lands to satisfy the whites, they might lose the whole reservation. He thought that the Lakota were just like whites and had the same desires in life. Any poor white family would have been overjoyed at the gift of a free farm with oxen, tools, a wagon and free seed. Dawes thought the Lakota would too. But the Lakota were not farmers. They were warriors and hunters of the plains.

B. The Allotment Act of 1887

Senator Dawes introduced a bill to break up the reservations in 1887. It was passed by Congress and called the Allotment Act. It had two main purposes. The first purpose was to break up the reservations into small pieces of land. The second reason was to make the Native Americans self-supporting farmers. Congress wanted to give the head of each Native American family 160 acres and make him farm it. By making the Native Americans into farmers, Congress hoped to make them give up their Native American culture and values. They hoped that the Native Americans would become thrifty, hard working citizens of the United States.

There were many reasons why Congress approved the Allotment Act and why it was so popular with the white people. It was passed in a time when farming was growing in popularity. The west was being settled by homesteaders who received a quarter section of land. White people were doing farming and it was the best way for a man to earn money in those days. They thought it would be fair to allot the Native Americans a quarter section of land and train them to be farmers. They thought that the Lakota would be attracted by this offer. Most Native Americans were living on rations given out by the U.S. Government. The whites didn't think that this was a good way to live. The Protestant religion taught that a person's soul could only be saved by hard work. If the Native Americans were given land, they could save themselves by becoming hard working farmers. Besides, it would save the federal government money.

Before the land could be broken up, the Lakota had to be encouraged and instructed to become farmers. They were given seeds and farm tools. But the white people who were trying to change Lakota life simply did not understand Lakota life and values.

The Lakota knew that if they planted large fields and raised crops, they would be dropped from the ration rolls. This would break the treaties which promised them food and supplies for the land which had been taken away. The government owed the people these rations. The Lakota were not going to let the government forget this.

The government agents did not understand that the life of a farmer was very much different from that of a hunter and warrior. To be a great and brave Lakota, a man had to be a war chief or a fighting man. A man with a plow was not a great man. The Lakota had been hunters and warriors for hundreds of years. There was no better way to make a living on the great plains. People who settled down on one spot of land and tried to live by growing crops were weak. The Lakota looked down on groups like the Brule Corn Band and the Sioux on the Missouri River Agencies who became farmers.

Even Agent McGillycuddy saw that the land on the reservation was unfit for farming. He said to some people out east: "I can confidently venture to state that if the experiment were tried of placing 7,000 white people on this land, with seeds, agricultural implements and one year's sustenance, at the end of that time they would die of starvation if they had to depend on their crops for food."

Most agents continually pestered the people to become farmers. The people grew tired of this nagging. Eventually many Lakota scattered over the reservation, built cabins and planted just enough seed to keep the agent happy. But these little fields were not successful. Drought, grasshoppers and hail usually destroyed the crops before they could be harvested. Anyone could see that the land was better suited for cattle raising than for farming.

During this period of receiving rations, all the supplies had to be hauled from the Missouri River to the agencies. The prices charged by the white contractors was sky high. So the Indian Bureau contracted with the Native Americans to haul the goods. It was a good, exciting life. In 1884, there were 500 wagons operated by the Pine Ridge Sioux. In that one year, they hauled over three million pounds of freight from Valentine to the Agency. They made $40,000 that year hauling freight. Freight hauling and ranching were better ways of making a living than farming.

C. The Sioux Act of 1888

The government kept insisting that the Lakota become farmers. Finally they went ahead with their plan to break up the reservations. The Dawes Act said that as soon as all the Native Americans had received their allotments, the U.S. Government would bargain with the tribe for its surplus land. This land would then be thrown open to settlement under the Homestead Laws. But the Sioux Act of 1888 turned things around. This time the Lakota were not going to have first choice of the land. First the government would bargain for surplus land. Then the land that was left over would be alloted to the Lakota. The Great Sioux Reservation contained nearly twice as much land as was necessary for allotments. So the government decided to break the reservation into six small reservations. The allotment policy could slowly be carried out on these sections of land. Meanwhile the surplus land would be bought for fifty cents an acre and then thrown open to the homesteaders. In this way the State of South Dakota was created.

A commission was appointed to get the Lakota to sign the bill. It was headed by Richard H. Pratt who was superintendent of the Carlisle Indian School. Pratt was not a wise man. He treated the Lakota like they were still the small boys at the Carlisle School. He threatened them. He talked down to them. He insulted them. He even sent a special delegation of sixty-seven leaders to Washington. He hoped that they would be so impressed with Washington that they would sign the Act. They were not impressed. Instead they constantly pointed out to the white people that the price for the land was unfair. How could the U.S. Government offer the Lakota fifty cents an acre and then turn around and sell it for $1125.00 an acre? They also mentioned that many of the articles of the Treaties of 1868 and 1876 were still not being kept by the U.S. Government. This embarrassed the government and they sent the Lakota back to the reservation.

Finally the Pratt Commission went back to Washington. They had failed to get the Lakota to sign the bill. But the land hungry whites in Lakota territory were getting angry. They wanted real tough men sent to take the land away from the Lakota. If the government didn't do it legally, the people in Dakota would do it illegally.

D. The Sioux Act of 1889

In March, 1889, Congress passed a new Sioux Bill. It was basically the same as the bill that the Sioux rejected in 1888. Money from the surplus land sales would go to a permanent Sioux Fund; 25,000 cows and 1,000 bulls would be given to the Lakota; each family would receive two milk cows, a pair of oxen, farm tools and seed. But there were improvements in the new bill. Family heads received 320 acres instead of 160; each family received $50 in cash instead of $20; the price of the surplus land was to be $1.25 per acre for the first three year, 75 cents for the next two years and 50 cents after that. A little bait was thrown in for Red Cloud and Red Leaf. The new bill said that the bands of these two leaders would be paid $40 for each horse that had been taken from them in 1876. This amounted to $28,500. Finally Congress said that this act had to be approved by three quarters of the adult males.

A very special group of men was selected for this commission. They were all men who were known to be able to get what they wanted. The Commission was headed by General Crook, old Three Stars.

The Commission first stopped at Rosebud. They started the council talks with feasting and preaching. Crook permitted dancing which had been forbidden. He was softening the Brules up for the signing. Swift Bird and some of the mixed blood progressives said that the bill should be signed. They thought it was the best thing for the Lakota nation at this time. Crook persuaded these progressives to go out and talk to the others. But the fullbloods said nothing. Finally Crook said a few words to hurry things up:

> Last year when you refused to accept the bill Congress came very near opening this reservation anyhow. It is certain that you will never get any better terms than are offered in this bill, and the chances are that you will not get so good. And it strikes me that instead of your complaining of the past, you had better provide for the future. ...It strikes me that you are in the position of a person who had his effects (property) in the bed of a dry stream where there was a flood coming down, and instead of finding fault with the Creator for sending it down, you should try and save what you can. And that when you can't get what you like, you had better take what is the best for you.

After fighting and bickering, the Commission managed to get 1,455 out of a possible 1,475 signatures.

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When the Crook Commission arrived at Pine Ridge, they were met by a large group of armed and mounted warriors. This disturbed Crook and he asked that the warriors leave. This was a poor way to begin a council meeting. The first meeting was a failure. At the end of the first day, the chiefs told the Commission to leave the agency at once. Crook refused. Instead he began talking with the individual squawmen and the mixed bloods.

Later, Red Cloud gave a speech in which he said that the government should live up to the promises of the previous treaties before any more would be signed:

> ...the Treaty I made with the Great Father and what has been promised to me has not been fulfilled as promised, and I want that fulfilled first, and now you come and want to get more land before what has been promised has been fulfilled. My friend General Crook knows something about this last Treaty of 1876. My friends, when a man owes 10 cents or 50 cents up here at these stores, these storekeepers want that paid before he gets any more. Now you come here and ask for more land. You want to buy more land, and I looked around to see if I could see any boxes of money that you brought here to buy more land, and I could not see any, and now I think this is the talk of sugar again just as this paper was. My friends, my people are going to have another meeting tomorrow and have another talk with you, but this is what has been promised to me before, and I am only saying what has been promised to me in the past.

After a few days of individual talking, Crook again called a council. This time the Oglalas put American Horse of the Kiyuksa Oapays up as the spokesman. He was known as a progressive, but he was not in favor of land sale. American Horse loved to talk and he asked the Commission if he could talk. Since he was a friend of General Crook, the Commission could not refuse him his request. Day after day, for three days, American Horse came to talk to the Commissioners. He talked endlessly about Indian policy, education, lack of money, policemen, cheating of Indian Agents, etc. He talked and talked. He completely wore out the Commissioners. One of the Commissioners interrupted him during one of these long speeches. He said that he had heard of man being talked to death, and he hoped that this was not what American Horse had in mind. All the Oglalas laughed loudly. After the laughter, American Horse continued to talk just like he had been before he was interrupted.

Meanwhile, Crook had been talking privately to American Horse at night. He told him that if the Oglalas did not sign away part of their land now, they would lose all of it. So Crook finally convinced American Horse that the best thing that could be done for the Lakota people was to sign the bill. So he signed it, and a few of his followers signed it also.

But the two main chiefs, Red Cloud of the Oglala and Little Wound of the Wazasa, refused to sign. Crook made many promises and tried to bribe the chiefs. But they still would not sign. Finally, the Commission left the Pine Ridge Agency in anger. They had failed to collect enough signatures.

At the other agencies, the Commission had more luck. The white people near the agencies frightened the Native Americans. So they signed much more easily than did the Oglalas. But there were still some who resisted. At Cheyenne River Agency, Crook had managed to collect only about 300 signatures. Then a riot broke out. Two painted warriors rushed to the signing table waving war clubs. The troops from nearby Fort Bennett were brought in to quiet things down, but the Commission decided to get out. The Agent and his men, however, managed to collect another 320 signatures after the Commission left.

As soon as the Commission thought that they had enough signatures, they left the Great Sioux Reservation. They claimed that they had 130 extra signatures. In the east, the white people thought that Crook was a good friend of the Native American. They thought that he had given the Lakota good advice and that they had listened to him. They thought that Crook had done the Lakota a great favor by persuading them to sign their land away. But no Lakota thought that. They knew that he had forced them to sign away their best land. After the signing, they had lost about nine million acres. (See map #9)

E. The Allotments

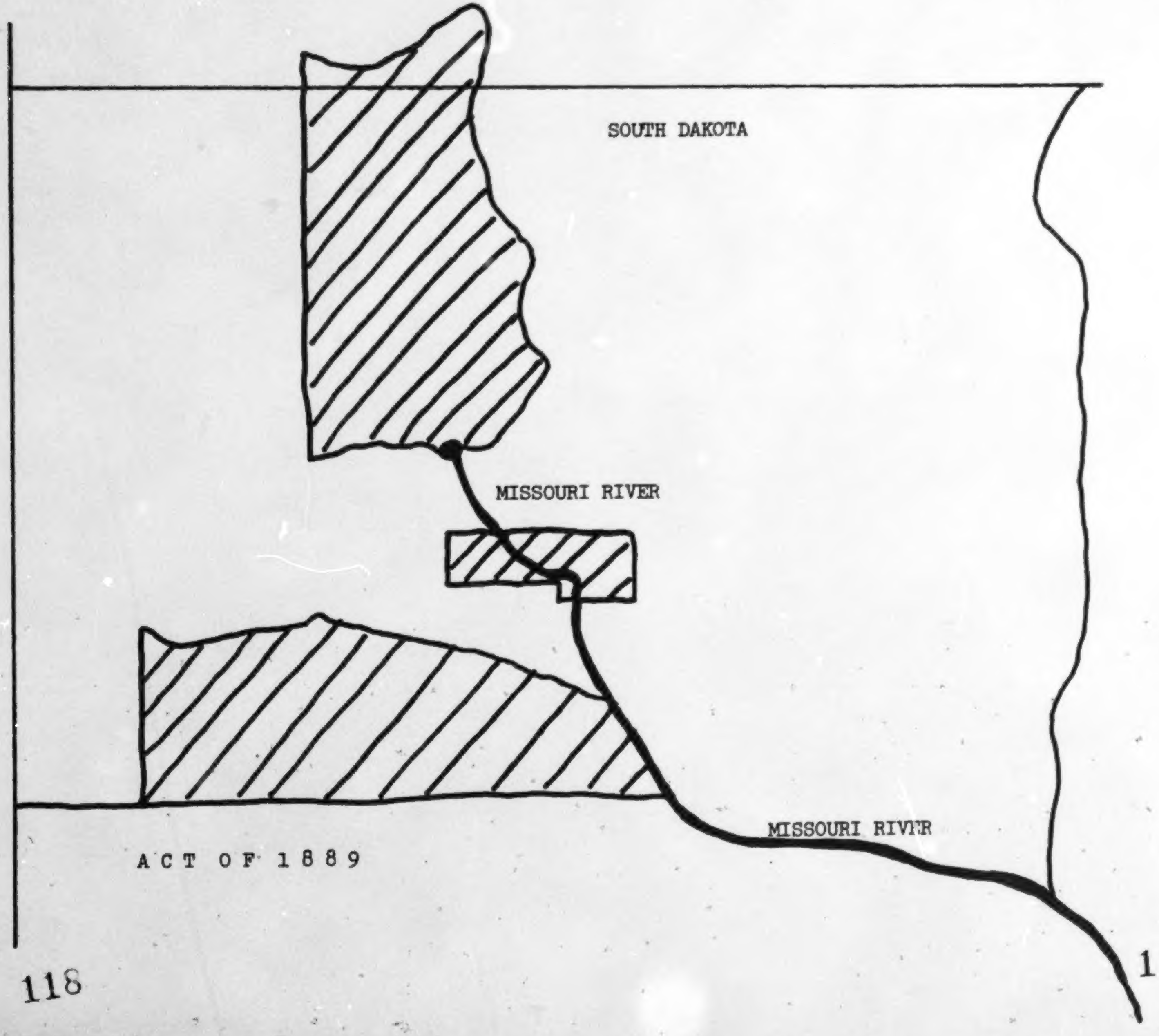
The Act of 1889 set aside original allotments which numbered from 1 to 312. These were assigned to the people and approved by March 10, 1905. Each family head was alloted 640 acres (a section). The wife and any single person 18 years or older on July 29, 1904 received 320 acres. Each child under 18 received 160 acres. The last allotment (which was numbered 8074) was alloted on July 19, 1933. No one born after 1916 was entitled to an allotment. During the alloting of land, little concern was given to the degree of Native American blood. In fact, it was even possible for a non-Native American man married to a Native American woman to receive a full allotment. Also during the allotment period, it was possible for the people to choose the locations of their tracts of land, and in this way tiospayes and extended families could stick together.

In addition to the land, each allotee was also entitled to a wagon, a harness and other equipment as well as livestock and a little cash. This was known as the Sioux Benefits. The Act of 1928 continued the Sioux Benefits to allotees when they reached the age of 18. Then in 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act also continued the Sioux Benefits to the allotees. At this time, there were still 167,780 acres of unalloted land. Divided into

80 acre tracts, this would make 2,097 more allotments. But the Bureau of Indian Affairs decided that this land was worthless. Instead of giving out the land and the Sioux Benefits, they would give out the cash value of the equipment and livestock plus $50.00. This would be given to anyone 18 or over who had not received an original allotment, or to anyone when they reached the age of 18. The last Sioux Benefit of this type was issued in 1946 at Pine Ridge.

Between 1904 and 1910, most of the Pine Ridge Sioux had received their allotments. These were the original allotees of the reservation. Then the large remaining sections of unallotted land were declared surplus by the U.S. Government. So in 1911, the southeast quarter of the reservation was opened up to the homesteaders. The homesteaders were kept out of the rest of the reservation, but they were allowed to take over this portion. It is called Bennett County today.

The land allotted to the Lakota was to be held in trust by the U.S. Government for twenty-five years. The government didn't think that the Lakota were able to handle their own property. As long as the land was in trust, it was not taxed. Nor could the Native Americans sell their land without the approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The state of South Dakota refused to provide education for the people on the reservation, because no taxes were being paid. So the Bureau of Indian Affairs had to continue to provide for the education of the young Oglalas. Most allotments were not ended at the end of the twenty-five years and so there continued to be trust land. This began the problem of heirship which will be studied later. This also began the problem of patent fees. If an Oglala got a patent fee for his land, he could sell it by himself to anyone


SOUTH DAKOTA
MISSOURI RIVER
MISSOURI RIVER

ACT OF 1889

MAP #9 118

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and not go through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. But to get a patent fee, a person had to give up tribal membership and become a U.S. citizen. Many did this to get the money from selling land. But the government soon stopped this to prevent the loss of reservation land and mismangement of patent fees.

F. The Government Forces the Oglalas to Change Their Way of Life

The agent used many tricks to get the Lakota to surrender their old culture and to take on the ways of the white man. He had control of the food supply (rations) and its distribution. If he felt that the people were acting too much like Native Americans, he would withold their food. Sometimes he would use the police to force them to change. When the people camped in large groups or when they held councils in Lakota, he would withhold their rations until they quit.

The agent also used the school system to force the Lakota to change. The children were kidnapped and forced to go to the government schools. Their hair was cut short. Their Native American clothes were thrown away and they were given white man's clothes. If they spoke in Lakota, they were punished with beatings. If they ran away from school, they and their parents were thrown in jail. It was not uncommon for children to sing brave songs on their way to the boarding schools, because they expected to die at the hands of the white teachers. They were kept at the boarding school twelve months a year so that they would not be influenced by their families. In their school program, half the time was spent on industrial training, agriculture and housekeeping. The government was forcing the young Native American students to become white persons.

At the same time that the young children were being forced to give up their Native American traditions, the adults were also being forced to change their way of living. When the Oglalas first came to the reservation, they all camped around the agency. Later, they broke up into smaller bands or family camps. The government built ration stations for the bands in different parts of the reservation. In a short time the Lakota were broken up. The individual families settled along the creeks. No longer did the families live close together under the immediate supervision of the chiefs. When the allotments were made, the families were spread even further apart. This was because each family had to live on a certain alloted piece of land. The families built log cabins along the creeks and began to live almost like white people. They raised small herds of horses and cattle.

During this period of time, the Lakota accepted the rations from the government with the understanding that it was the duty of the government to give to the poor, especially to those who were made poor through circumstances they could not control. This was not an act of charity on the part of the government. In addition, the Lakota thought they should be supported because they were being forced to change from one culture to another.

G. Cattle Raising on the Reservation

In the 1870's the army saw that the land was good for cattle raising. So they gave some cattle to the Lakota people. Beginning in 1871, one live cow was included in each monthly ration. Many Lakota did not want to raise cattle. They preferred to hunt the buffalo. But some who lived around the agencies managed to build up large herds. In 1879, the government brought over 3,000 to the agencies. The idea of being a cowboy caught on quickly among the people. By 1885, there were over 10,000 head of cattle on the Pine Ridge Reservation. But the terrible winter of 1886-1887 wiped out the cattle industry for a while.

The Allotment Act of 1887 also threatened the cattle raising business. It gave each Native American a certain amount of land and forced him to become a farmer. This destroyed the natural grazing lands.

But the cattle raising business was still very good until the beginning of World War I. At this time prices were very high and Native American owners were encouraged to sell. By 1916 nearly all the cattle had been sold. At the same time, white ranchers were given rights to lease Native American land for grazing. By 1917 several large cattle operators had huge leases on the reservation.

The income from the sale of cattle and from leasing land to the cattle operators had brought a lot of money to the Lakota. They became attracted to the gadgets of the white man's world. They enjoyed buying cars. One car was worth about twenty-five good horses and they traded their horses for a car.

The depression after World War I forced many of the white cattle operators out of business. They didn't pay their lease fees any more. Now the Lakota had no source of income. They needed money and the agents encouraged them to sell their land. Around 1922 the land speculators and crop farmers began buying up Native American lands. The agencies helped the white people in every way they could. Often there was much fraud and trickery involved in the land deals. A Lakota would be led to believe that $40.00 in cash and a new suit of clothes was the down payment for some land. Later he would find out that he had really sold the land for that amount. During this time, Wanblee, Batesland and Martin became centers for the white farmers who bought the Native American land.

The period during the time of the boom of the cattle industry can be called the golden age of the reservation. One of the reasons for this successful period was the field agent or the boss farmer. This was a man who worked for the Indian Service Extension Division. He was chiefly concerned with the agricultural businesses in his district. So his main work was with the raising of livestock, the growing of crops and the selling and leasing of land. In the districts, he became just like the superintendent. He distributed the pay-roll and other government checks. When someone complained that another person was trespassing on his land, the boss farmer would take care of the situation. He handled any business that the people had to conduct with the federal government. Whenever it was necessary, he would represent the people at the Agency. So if there was a good boss farmer in the district, all business could be handled on a local level. It was not necessary for people to run back and forth to Pine Ridge all the time. During this time of the golden age of the reservation, the people in the districts felt united and worked together.

H. Disaster in the 1930's

The drought and the depression of the 1930's wiped out everything. It was too hot and dry for farming and cattle raising. Everyone on the reservation became poverty-stricken. After one year of Red Cross aid and direct government help, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was established. So nearly all able-bodied men were on the government payroll. After the worst part of the depression, the government tried to reestablish cattle raising. But there were many difficulties. Heirship broke up the lands into small plots of land that were too small for cattle raising. Natural cattle ranges were broken up because small parts were being sold to individual whites. There was no credit available for anyone wanting to go into the cattle business. War-time jobs had attracted many of the Lakota men away from the reservation to high-paying jobs.

Even though the 1930's were very difficult years, the poeple still managed to make a living. The drought forced many non-Native American ranchers to lease land from the Lakota people for their cattle. This brought in some money. A number of Lakota men were involved in the hauling of government freight. The only crop of any importance was hay. Over five hundred tons were sold in 1930 to the government and the district trader at an average price of $5.00 a ton. A few men had regular jobs with year-round income such as cowboys, ministers, policemen or government employees. Many people had seasonal jobs, especially as potato pickers.

The Sioux Benefit Fund helped young people get started in life. Each boy and girl was supposed to get about $500.00 worth of help. It was supposed to be used to help the boy get started in some occupation, usually farming. It was supposed to help the girl get some household goods. The help didn't come in the form of cash, but in the form of goods.

For the boy:	A team of horses	$ 80.00
	A wagon	150.00
	A harness	70.00
	A plow	55.00
	A corn planter	35.00
	A stock saddle	60.00
	Logs for a house	45.00
For the girl:	A team of horses	$ 80.00
	A wagon	150.00
	A harness	70.00
	A sewing machine	35.00
	A tent	25.00
	A bedstead	35.00
	A bureau	15.00
	A cook stove	40.00

These were the ways in which the Sioux people made a living during the very difficult time of the depression.

THE PERIOD OF REORGANIZATION: 1934-1950

At the beginning of the Franklin Roosevelt administration, Congress passed the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, called the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). In order to have effect on a reservation, it had to be approved by a majority vote of the tribal members. Over twice as many tribes approved it as opposed it. It tried to repair the damage of the allotment period by ending the alloting of tribal land to individual Native Americans. It also stated that there was no definite time when trust land ceased to be trust land. The government realized that there was not enough reservation land for the Native American population, so it set aside two million dollars a year for the purpose of buying lands for the reservations. This new land included land purchased from the whites on the reservations, and also land which was outside the existing reservations. During the next ten years, over four million acres of land were returned to Native American tribes.

The IRA also set up a ten million dollar Indian Loan Fund, which enabled many Native Americans to borrow money for agricultural, livestock and fishing purposes. To help out Native American students, $250,000 a year was set aside for educational loans. Only $50,000, however, could be used for college. The rest was for vocational training. Finally, the IRA made it possible for any tribe to organize and establish a constitution and by-laws for the management of its own local affairs.

But World War II prevented this Act from accomplishing much. The war took away all the good men and money. Most reservations didn't get any better during the war. Many got worse.

THE TERMINATION PERIOD: 1950-1960

A. The Meaning of Termination

Termination means that the federal government no longer supervises or protects the land of a Native American tribe. The land is turned over to the individual members of that tribe. It means that the historical relationships between the federal government and the tribe are ended. The tribe no longer has the right to deal directly with the federal government, without going through the state. Federal wardship is ended and the state takes over. When this happens, all the criminal and civil laws of the state apply to all those living on the reservation. In the end, the reservation simply ceases to be.

B. The History of Termination

The U.S. Government has always tried to encourage the Native American to abandon his heritage and take up the ways of the white man. During the years 1789 to 1889 the policy of the U.S. Government towards the Native Americans changed very much. In the beginning, the government made treaties with the tribes as land-owning, independent nations. In the end, they made them prisoners and forced them to live within special passes. There is the famous story of an Oyukhpe leader, Few Tails, who had received a pass to hunt off the reservation. While he was returning from the hunt, he met a group of white ranchers and they killed him. The men were caught and brought to trial, but found "not guilty." So even with passes, it was not safe to leave the reservation.

More and more laws were passed to end the existence of tribes. Most of them failed, but a few didn't. The Choctaws were terminated in 1830, the Kikapoos in 1862, the Cherokees in 1868, and the Winnebagos in 1875. Just recently in the 1950's, all tribes of California, the Menominees, the Oregon Warm Springs, and other tribes were terminated.

It became obvious that this type of attitude was going to cause suffering and resentment. The Merrian Report of 1928 pointed out many errors in the government's attitude and made some recommendations. A new policy towards the Native American was begun under President Hoover and continued for a while under President Roosevelt. It was during this time that the IRA went into effect.

Around 1950 the policy towards Native Americans was reversed. During the Eisenhower administration, termination was the national Native American policy. From 1954 to 1960 many laws were passed which took away the political power of tribes. In that period, sixty-one tribes, groups or communities were terminated. Sometimes special provisions were made. For example, the government would build a sewage treatment plant before the reservation would be terminated. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was preparing for termination, too. Many Native American students were sent many miles away to public schools, instead of being allowed to attend BIA schools close by. The Extension Service of the BIA in Pine Ridge was transferred to the Extension Division of the Department of Agriculture. On the Pine Ridge Reservation, a number of state departments began to move in. The State Welfare Department set up offices in Pine Ridge, and so did the State Employment Agency.

But this policy was competely abandoned by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. The current President, Nixon, is a Republican and termination has been a Republican policy. So many people are fearful. This is what Nixon said about termination:

> The special relationship between the Federal Government and the Indian people and the special responsibilities of the Federal Government to the Indian people will be acknowledged.
>
> Termination of tribal recognition will not be a policy objective and in no case will it be imposed without Indian consent.
>
> We must recognize that American society can allow many different cultures to flourish in harmony and we must provide an opportunity for those Indians wishing to do so to lead a useful and prosperous life in an Indian environment.

Former Secretary of the Interior, Walter Hickel, had said the same thing:

> We are not a pro-termination Administration. ...Neither I nor this Administration have a pro-termination policy. Such a policy can only be established by the Indian community itself, through a clear mandate on the part of your people.
>
> Another way of putting it is that I personally as Secretary of the Interior, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is under my jurisdiction, do not intend to tell you what to do. Rather, we will listen to you, work with you and implement the policies, which, through mutual understanding, will be designed to further improve your state in life.

C. Who Likes Termination and Who Doesn't

The Native Americans who are in favor of termination are usually mixed blood, with one eighth Native American blood or less. They are the people who no longer live on the reservation and who receive nothing from the use of tribal land. But they would get money if the land were sold and the profits divided among the enrolled members. Many selfish whites are also pushing the termination. They want to get at the rich grazing lands, the oil, the minerals, the timber, etc.

Those who want termination say that if the reservation and its resources would be converted into cash, they could make investments that would earn money on the principal. Some believe that the reservation separates the Native American from the non-Native American, and that this is a bad thing. It is good for the Native American to live next to the non-Native American. They say that it is too complicated to live under Native American law. If the Native American had full responsibilities and privileges of regular citizens, many of their problems would disappear. Each Native American should have the right to convert his land, trees, water, mineral and hunting rights into cash if he wants to. Those who want termination claim that the tribal council cannot speak for them.

The rest of the Native Americans on the reservation don't want the termination of the reservation nor the termination (end) of the BIA. What they want is the termination of white control of the BIA.

Those against termination insist that those who are for it are not thinking of the future generations. These kind of people are thinking only of the present and only on what they stand to gain. They completely forget about the future Native Americans and their needs. Those who don't favor termination argue that if there should be any termination, it should be the termination of non-Native Americans who contaminate the tribal rolls--those with less than one-fourth Native American blood.

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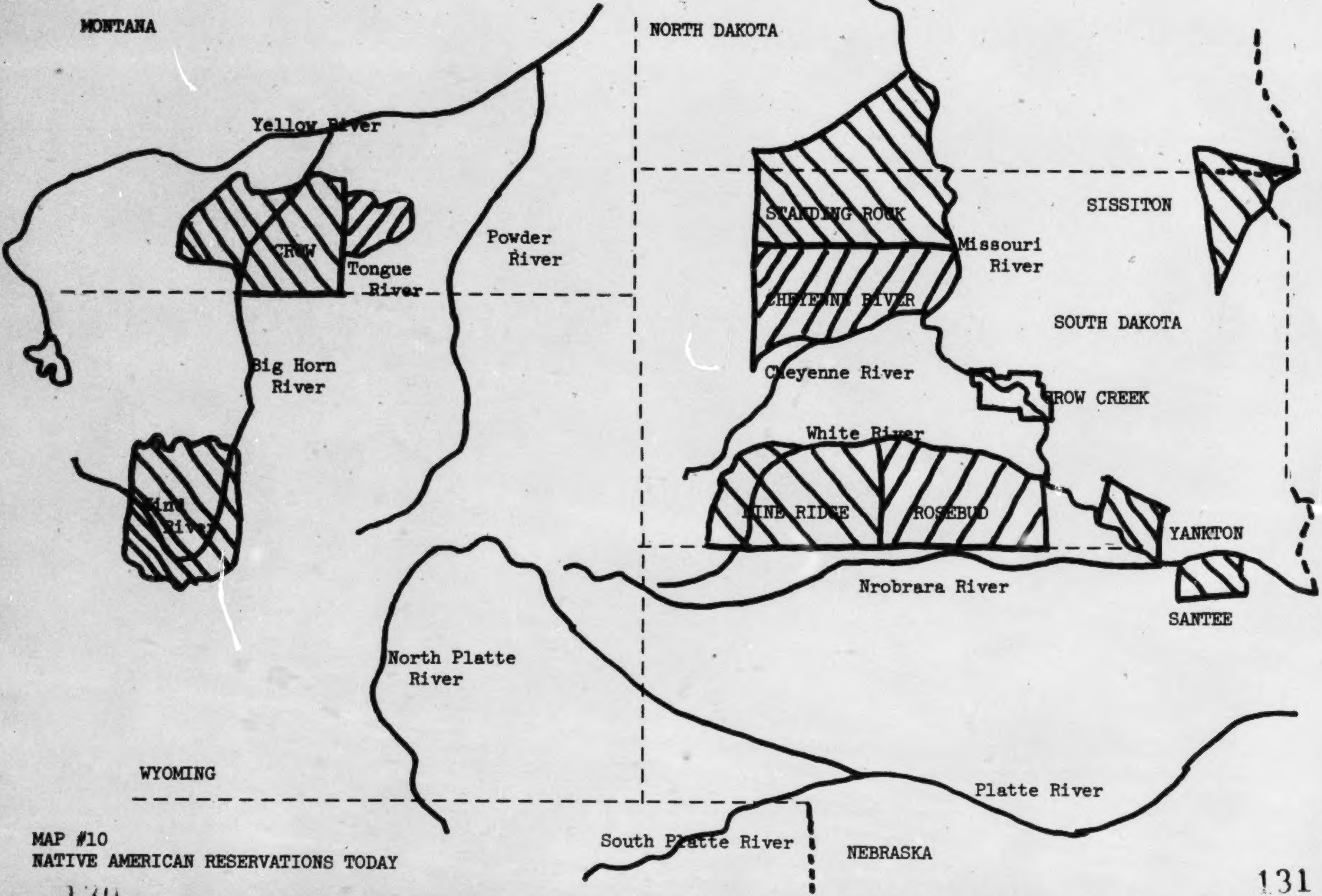
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
Yellow River
CROW
Tongue River
Powder River
Big Horn River
Wind River
STANDING ROCK
Missouri River
SISSITON
CHEYENNE RIVER
SOUTH DAKOTA
Cheyenne River
CROW CREEK
White River
PINE RIDGE
ROSEBUD
YANKTON
Nrobrara River
SANTEE
North Platte River
WYOMING
Platte River
South Platte River
NEBRASKA

MAP #10
NATIVE AMERICAN RESERVATIONS TODAY